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MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE
Volume III, No. 2, April, 1919

MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

Vol. III, No. 2. April, 1919 Whole No. 8

THE College Professor seems to be coming into his own as a man of affairs. Noteworthy is the place assigned to him by the National Government in its recent unique acknowledgment noted below of the practical nature of the facts of history and allied subjects. As noted by Professor R. M. Wenley, in his article on "The University of Michigan in the War" printed in the October number of the Magazine, 1918, in speaking of the college professor and his relation to expertness in general—

"Above all," he says, "he is the possessor of expert knowledge. Indeed, such is the situation in the contemporary United States that professors probably monopolize a greater proportion of the available expert knowledge of the country than in any other land. If the public is unaware of this, it is because the real masters are not given to much talk."

In common with the nations of the Allies, the United States has been fortified at the Peace Conference by several army trucks of documents provided by "The Inquiry," so carefully classified, so completely indexed, and so thoroughly subdivided as to be instantly available for the discussion and determination of any humanly forecastable point that might arise among the Peace Commissioners.

The members of "The Inquiry" are mainly university professors. This work was set on foot as early

as September, 1917, at a time when no one could foretell the end of the war or its positive outcome. The work was carried on with the secrecy needed to protect the records and documents from spies of the enemy who might tamper with the data, hence the scantiness of information about it which was vouchsafed to the public. The staff worked in closest touch with the War Department. To meet the pressing need for highly specialized facilities especially in geographical research and map making, the American Geographical Society placed its building and equipment, and part of its staff, at the service of the Government. On the staff of "The Inquiry" were the following well known American educators:

Dr. S. E. Mezes, President of the College of the City of New York, director of the work

Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Director of the American Geographical Society, chief territorial specialist

Allyn A. Young, Head of the Department of Economics at Cornell University, specialist on economic resources

Charles H. Haskins, Dean of the Graduate School of Harvard University, specialist on Alsace-Lorraine

Clive Day, Head of the Economics Department at Yale, specialist on the Balkans

W. E. Lunt, Professor of History in Haverford College, specialist on Northern Italy

R. H. Lord, Professor of History at Harvard, specialist on Russia and Poland

Charles Seymour, Professor of History at Yale University, specialist on Austria

W. L. Westermann, Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, specialist on Turkey
G. L. Beer, formerly a professor in Columbia University, specialist on colonial history
Mark W. Jefferson, Professor in Michigan State Normal College, specialist in cartography
Roland B. Dixon, Professor in Harvard University, specialist in ethnography

The work of "The Inquiry" has covered exhaustively the historic rights of the peoples concerned in the war, their religious development and customs, rights of minority peoples in composite populations, diplomacy and treaties, public law, constitutional reforms, international law, economic problems related to raw materials, coaling stations, cable stations, port works, tariffs and customs unions, free ports, open ports, industrial development, traffic routes, boundaries, food resources, minerals, water power, fuel, economic and political geography, strategic frontiers, topographic barriers; and its members have constructed maps to illustrate every kind of distribution that bears on peace problems, the status of education in colonial possessions and in backward states, and the opportunities of oppressed minorities.

During its work every important nationality of Europe and western Asia sent delegates from its colleges and universities to confer with it. The highest authorities upon the history of the affected countries were consulted. Sources from all languages were gathered. Secret documents and information hitherto unavailable to scholars were freely used. This tremendous mass of information together with similar collections made by the other nations is the basis

for its complete series of maps and diagrams visualizing the data bearing upon the problems both of war and peace, all of which will in due course become a part of the records of the State Department at Washington. A history of the work is being prepared for the History Board of the War Plans Division of the General Staff of the War Department.

Verily the day of the professor is at hand, as the purveyor of expert knowledge. No longer may we speak of "men, women and college professors." No longer do we find these erstwhile alleged members of a third sex living "apart in the shady groves of Academe unspotted from and untroubled by the sad world." In the Great War the college professor in the role of engineer, chemist, inventor, mathematician, ordnance expert, metallurgist, botanist, physician, surgeon, agriculturalist, statistician, historian, captain of industry, moralist, statesman, jurist, geographer, cartographer, ethnologist, anthropologist, philosopher, did much to formulate the issues and furnish the technical backing of the Allied armies and navies. He may not talk about it; but we know it, and are grateful.

POLITICAL Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860, by Floyd Benjamin Streeter, has been issued as volume IV of the University series of the Michigan Historical Commission's publications.

Among the subjects treated are State politics (1835-43), the anti-slavery movement, the effect of territorial extension and the tariff, the controversy over the Mexican War, the Compromise of 1850, the tendency of the Whig and Free Soil parties to unite, the foreign

element in Michigan politics, the organization of the Know-Nothing and Republican parties, the churches in Michigan politics, the river and harbor improvement issue, the dissatisfaction in the Republican party, and Democratic decline and Republican advance.

The discussion shows that the Democratic party was composed chiefly of the poor and radical element of the population and had a well developed organization by 1837 while the Whig party consisted mainly of the conservative and well-to-do men who organized a party as a result of the financial and other issues of the late thirties. Each party was so broken up into factions, however, that the name Whig or Democrat might almost be said to represent an idea rather than an actuality. In the Democratic party the office-holding and conservative factions battled for supremacy in the thirties. About this time the radical faction which was bitterly opposed to monopolies, chartered banks, and slavery began to attract attention, while the western faction was largely the product of sectional desires and disappointments. In the Whig party the older, wealthier and more conservative men who revered their party, and feared the domination of the aliens in politics and the effect of the slavery agitation, composed the conservative faction; while the radical faction included mainly the younger men who were not more strongly but were more aggressively opposed to slavery than the conservatives, took a more active part in politics and were more willing to sacrifice their party for the sake of principle.

The anti-slavery movement began as early as 1830 and the agitation was conducted largely through the organization of anti-slavery societies, in the Protestant churches and by means of the underground railroad.

The fact that a large portion of the people came from non-slaveholding States and had very little antipathy toward Negroes aided the movement. The Abolition element at first took very little part in politics. Finally friends of independent political action, apparently in a mass meeting, placed a third ticket in the field. As near as can be ascertained the three hundred and twenty-one Abolition votes from eighteen counties in the first election were in proportion to the total vote cast in Michigan twice as many as were polled in any other State in the Northwest and more than in any State in the North except Massachusetts, and in the next few years the party in Michigan held the leadership in the Northwest.

The annexation of Texas had a unifying influence on the Whig party but indicated that there was a division in the Democratic party on the question of extending slave territory. The Democrats as a party opposed a tariff which aided the manufacturing class. All the Whigs appeared to support the Tariff of 1842 for about two years when the farmer and laboring element showed some dissatisfaction with it.

The division over the Wilmot Proviso together with factional hostility almost split the Democratic party. The conservative Whigs grew more fearful of the Abolition agitation, while the radical Whigs became more bitterly opposed to slavery. Several persons from the radical Whig and Democratic factions and the Liberty party assembled in Ann Arbor in 1848, apparently in a mass convention, and placed a full electoral ticket for the Free Soil party in the field.

The reaction which followed this outburst united the western and conservative Democrats and permitted the conservative Whigs to secure control of their party

for a time. Nevertheless a sharper line was drawn between the radical and conservative elements. From 1848 to 1850 the radical Whigs and Free Soilers formed several coalitions and in 1852 they united upon the candidate for Congress in the second district, and the Free Soilers probably supported William A. Howard, the Whig candidate in the first district. These coalitions showed that the radical elements were coming closer together and would finally unite.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise provided the occasion for a union. Shortly after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act the radical element met in a mass convention at Jackson, and as there was no hall large enough to hold so many people, the convention adjourned to an oak grove, where "under the oaks" the officers and committees of the convention were selected and the Republican party was organized. True to the party's principles, the first Republican Legislature passed resolutions instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives to procure the enactment of measures prohibiting slavery in the Territories and repealing the Fugitive Slave Rendition Law. The conservative Whigs, under the leadership of the Detroit *Advertiser*, held a State convention, but as this was composed largely of Republicans and their sympathizers it heard the report of the committee on resolutions, received a protest from E. A. Wales, owner of the *Advertiser* and adjourned without nominating a State ticket. Unable to save their party, a portion of them appear to have joined the Know-Nothing organization in some places and to have formed it in others. This party was comparatively weak and short-lived; it split on the slavery question and so disappeared as a political party.

Prior to about 1848 the foreign element gave very strong support to the Democratic party. This was due partly to the fact that a large portion of the aliens were poor people who regarded the Democratic party as their friends and the Whigs as their enemies, and to the comparatively small number of educated and well-to-do people and active opponents of slavery from foreign countries. In 1835 the Territorial Council, strongly Democratic, helped to secure for the Democratic party the confidence of the foreign element by permitting all free white male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age who had resided in the Territory three months on the day of election to vote for delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The party predilections of the aliens is illustrated by giving the vote in several places and the views of leading men including Dr. Theller, a native of Ireland who came to Detroit in the early thirties. In Detroit the three wards in which a large portion of the residents were Germans and Irish gave the Democratic candidates a majority at part of the elections for Mayor and all of those for Governor and President from 1848 to 1859. In the fifties the more radical portion of the aliens were gradually won to the ranks of the Republican party, especially after the Know-Nothing movement died out.

One chapter of the book deals with the attitude of the churches and the church members toward political issues, especially the slavery question. Since a consisiderable number of Presbyterians and Episcopalians were well-to-do and conservative people, many of them voted the Whig ticket. On the other hand, quite a few Methodists and Catholics were poor people and in the early period gave strong support to the Democratic party. The anti-slavery movement received

especially strong support from the Baptists, Congregationalists, Wesleyan Methodists and Quakers. The Methodists as a church apparently took no action on the slavery issue until the middle fifties when they were undoubtedly influenced by the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, then edited by a Michigan preacher. The Episcopal Church probably took no action on the slavery question in the fifties, and the Presbyterians became more conservative. The Catholics and Lutherans continued to support the Democratic party strongly.

The river and harbor improvement issue was especially disastrous to the Democratic party, the injury resulting chiefly from attacks on Democratic presidents who vetoed appropriation bills. The Whigs used these vetoes as political capital and made it appear that the Democratic party, dominated by Southern interests, was opposed to such measures. Thus the slavery question was agitated in connection with this issue. The Democrats of Michigan were vigorous advocates of Federal appropriations for the improvements of inland waterways but evinced very little hostility toward the South; their attacks were directed mainly against the presidents.

In 1857 and 1858 considerable dissatisfaction developed in the Republican party because of rivalry between the leaders, the hard times, the increased expenditure of money for public purposes and the disappointment of office seekers. After 1858 the Republican party increased in strength while the Democratic party became weaker through a division over the Lecompton Constitution, the quarrels between leaders, and the split in 1860 when about one hundred and fifty friends of the administration assembled in Detroit and began

the organization of the Breckenridge party. Likewise over fifty conservatives, chiefly Whigs and former Know-Nothings, from sixteen counties held a convention of the Constitutional Union party in the same city. After an enthusiastic and vigorous campaign Lincoln received 88,480 votes; Douglas 65,057; Breckenridge 805 and Bell 405.

The book contains 401 pages and is printed and bound uniformly with the other volumes of the series. The student of ante-bellum politics will find this thesis a useful monograph. The bibliography and the footnote references show that the author has written mainly from the original sources, using a large number of newspaper files, manuscripts, pamphlets and State and national publications. In the use of religious newspapers, minutes of annual meetings, church histories and biographies of ministers he has shown the possibilities of church literature as a source for the study of political history.

The book has a good table of contents, a critical bibliography, an appendix containing copies of the State constitutions of 1835 and 1850 and other valuable documents, and a serviceable index.

ALL WHO ARE INTERESTED in the North American Indians will welcome the little volume, *Echoes of the Forest; American Indian Legends*, by William Edgar Brown, member of the Michigan Authors' Association. Lovers of these children of the forest will feel that the time has come in the name of truth and justice when the best side of their character should no longer be obscured to their prejudice.

Our author has revealed something of the beauty and depth of the Indian nature. Drawing upon the great storehouse of North American Indian legends and traditions, he has selected some of the most striking and beautiful and imparted to them attractive forms which body forth their spiritual beauty and truth. If to some critics these gems seem to make Indian life as a whole too romantic and rosy, they will observe that at least the artist has been true to his sources.

While the life of the red race as a native product of the New World is one of the most distinctive fields of American literature, most will agree that we have yet to find the genius to make of these untrammeled elements of thought and passion a wholly worthy monument. Mr. Brown has attained a commendable degree of success. With a nice sense for the genius of the Indian language, he has caught here and there from the great mass of materials—the shining symbol, the fine sentiment, the brief allusion, the burst of feeling, the bold assertion—the characteristics of this wild improvisation, and woven them into forms of beauty which will rank with the best in Michigan's literature.

Students of Indian literature and history will appreciate the vast amount of work he has done in laboring through the multiplicity of sources, and the pains he has taken to determine the authority and correctness of each legend and tradition. Commendable also is the scrupulous care with which in putting his materials into poetic form he has adhered to the truth of the original. The little book has a true place and will find warm hearts.

THE LAST GRAND COUNCIL of the Indians of Michigan, and one of the important events of our history, took place on the present site of the city of Saginaw, September 24, 1819, when General Lewis Cass, Territorial Governor of Michigan, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Northwest, concluded the Treaty of Saginaw, which was signed by 114 chiefs and principal sachems, ceding to the United States several million acres of Indian land in Michigan. It has been suggested by Lt. George H. Maines, of the Camp Morale office, Camp Custer, that a centennial celebration commemorating the signing of this treaty be held this year, and the Michigan Historical Commission cooperating invites suggestions of place and manner of tribute.

Years ago, probably before the time of Columbus, the Hurons from Ontario were driven out of their land and migrated to lower Michigan where they joined the Iroquois tribes, and it is known that the valley of the present Saginaw River, with the Flint, Shiawassee, Tittabawassee, Cass and their affluents was once occupied by a branch of the Huron-Iroquois family and it is supposed that from one of the Huron branches that came here, known as Swageh-o-no (meaning, people-who-went-out-of-the-land) we get the name Saginaw. This particular branch of the tribe was later known as the Sauks. The Chippewa Indians around this part of the State had visited the present site of Flint and from their designation of a stream, flowing through the place, as "the river-of-flint," early settlers named the settlement Flint.

To understand the real significance of the Treaty of Saginaw it is necessary to go into the early history of Michigan, which State was originally part of the great

Northwest Territory. After the French and Indian War, the trouble with the Indian chief Pontiac, which lasted several years, and the Revolutionary War, white people began to come west to the region of the Great Lakes, and they demanded protection, both regarding life and property. The Indians were quite restless and troublesome until General Anthony Wayne defeated them at Maumee Rapids in the Battle of Fallen Timbers, after which the Treaty of Greenville was signed in 1795, whereby the lands around Detroit, Mackinac and other sections were ceded to the Government. The following year the first Wayne County was organized, and Detroit was its capital. Treaties giving the United States land in the present counties of Shiawassee, Ingham, Hillsdale and others were drawn up and signed, although the Indians later claimed not to have understood the treaties and joined in union with other tribes under the famous chief Tecumseh and went on the warpath only to meet defeat in the battle of Tippecanoe by General William Henry Harrison.

The War of 1812 being over, General Lewis Cass became Governor of Michigan Territory, from 1813 to 1831, when he became a member of President Jackson's cabinet. There were no roads inland in Michigan, no surveys and little protection for the settlers. After the war one Surveyor-General of the United States, Edward Tiffin, reported to the Government that with few exceptions land in lower Michigan was very poor and could not be cultivated. Congress had voted to set aside 2,000,000 acres of land in Michigan for soldiers and on account of Tiffin's report Congress passed a new law providing 2,000,000 acres be opened in Illinois and Missouri, which was

really an official condemnation of Michigan land and to deal with this question Cass was given charge of the Indian affairs in the Northwest Territory. But to develop Michigan was his concern and in 1818 with a party he set out from Detroit to observe personally the kind of land hereabout and taking the Indian trail from Detroit to Saginaw (Saginaw St.) started north, coming within a few miles of the southern boundry of Genesee County, reporting the soil fertile. The following year Governor Cass, who knew the Government of the United States justly held this territory by cession and conquest, nevertheless, got the chiefs of the several tribes of Indians together and they met at Saginaw, September 24, 1819 where, aided principally by Jacob Smith, a white man and Flint's first white citizen, the United States gained by treaty title to more than 6,000,000 acres of land all within the present boundaries of the State. It may be well to state that Governor Cass negotiated twenty-two separate treaties with the Indians, gaining practically all of the Northwest Territory for the United States. He built roads, surveyed the land, erected lighthouses, forts and "set in motion the machinery of civilized government."

It seems fitting that some celebration of the Treaty of Saginaw be made. Whether it be in the nature of a gathering at Saginaw or some other place with appropriate exercises, parade, floats, speeches, etc., or the unveiling of a monument or whatever form is taken to pay tribute to the memory of Lewis Cass, his co-workers, and the Indians of Michigan, and the State of Michigan.

There is no doubt but what this could be made one of the important gatherings of the year. Saginaw,

Bay City, Flint, Owosso and Pontiac are the largest cities especially concerned. There are quite a good many Indians left in the territory ceded in the treaty and they no doubt would attend and lend picturesque interest to the celebration. General Cass has descendants, as have Jacob Smith, John Todd and other early settlers, and with the cooperation of all the towns and cities hereabout, this 100th anniversary of the ceding to the United States of this land can be made a very useful public event.

THE ANNUAL MIDWINTER MEETING of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was held at Hastings Jan. 22 and 23, jointly with the Barry County Pioneer and Historical Society and the Thornapple Valley Pioneer Association.

The cooperating societies were well represented, especially the Thornapple Valley Association. President E. J. McNaughton of Middleville and Secretary (Mrs.) E. C. Apsey of Caledonia were both present.

The spirit of the meeting was the best the State Society has experienced in many years. The pioneers sang the old time songs with vigor, with Miss Striker of the Hastings Public Schools at the piano. Effective cooperation was given by Supt. E. J. Lederle and the boys and girls of the Hastings schools. The High School Orchestra played several selections. The Seventh Grade sang "My Own United States." The Third Grade gave the "Salute to the Flag." Miss Nellie Gillette assisted at the piano. Miss Josephine Spaulding played a violin solo. A mixed quartette of Hastings folk rendered several numbers. Specially pleasing

were Mrs. Margaret Troxel and Mrs. Robert Burch in vocal solos, "When the Boys Come Home" and "The Americans Come."

Following are the principal papers and addresses given: President Augustus C. Carton, *Historical Work After the War;* Rev. Dr. John R. Gregory (Hastings), *The Meaning of the Pioneer Spirit for the Present Day;* Mr. Henry D. Lucas (Ann Arbor), *The Founding of the Dutch Colony in Western Michigan, 1847-48;* Hon. Philip T. Colgrove (Hastings), *Barry County's Contribution to the War for Democracy;* Mrs. M. B. Ferrey (Lansing), *The Needs of Our Museum;* Miss Sue I. Silliman (Three Rivers), *War History Work in a Neighboring County;* Mr. Marshall L. Cook (Hastings), *Early Days in Hastings;* Hon. C. L. Glasgow, *High Points in the History of Barry County.*

A NOTE FROM OUR OLD FRIEND "PAT" taken from the *Moderator-Topics* of April 5, 1917, is good to repeat at this time as a reminder of what he thought and probably would still think about the prevalence of knowledge about Michigan.

"Honestly," he says, "our city and village youngsters, as they run, don't know as much of Michigan's history, geography, and resources, as they know of Timbuctoo, the Crusades, and silk worms. Neither do the teachers of our city and village schools. Pupils playing with Michigan cards or putting together a dissected map of the State by counties during rainy day recesses or intermissions, could distance 80 per cent of our active teachers in a quiz on Michigan. This should not be. Our growing citizenry should be taught to know and

appreciate the commonwealth in which they live, and which has done so much for them. Six weeks on Michigan history should follow the study of U. S. history this spring."

May we take to heart this message from Mr. Pattengill and honor it as his word to teachers in these closing weeks of school. There is an abundance of material in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* for this work. The State Historical Commission, Lansing, will supply a set of these 41 volumes free to any school in Michigan and other materials may be had for the asking.

THE Mackinac County Historical Society, organized in November 1918, has made a commendable beginning in gathering historical data for Mackinac County.

The need of such a Society has long been apparent. Mackinac, St. Ignace and their surrounding country are among the most romantic and historic spots in North America. The late Hon. Edwin O. Wood's *Historic Mackinac*, published recently by the Macmillans, calls attention to the wealth of historic and legendary lore which abounds in this region. While students of history have explored the records to some extent, there remains much to be done. In particular there is need of a systematic effort to discover, collect and properly house all historical data that may lie buried in public and private libraries and in the memories of pioneers.

This task the new Society has undertaken to do. Suitable quarters for the Society have been obtained

in the old Fort, which will be fitted up for a library and rest room, to be enjoyed and used not only by tourists, cottagers, and citizens, but by students who wish to work in Mackinac material.

The officers of the Society are:

President—Dr. J. H. Bogan, Mackinac Island.
Vice-Pres.—Mr. E. J. LaChance, Mackinac Island
Secretary—Miss. Mary L. Holden, Mackinac Island.

PAPERS

A HUNTSMAN'S VISION

(An Unpublished Poem by the Late Hon. Lawton T. Hemans)

A huntsman, wearying of the chase,
Had faltered in his bootless race.
His trade, of *coureur de bois*, was told
By garb of skins, and stalwart mold,
By darkly bronzed but honest face,
The passport of that hardy race.
From early morn his faithful hound
Had run with muzzle to the ground;
His warning cry and guiding note
Like clarion from the bugle throat,
With mellowed cadence, rode the breeze,
To cry again from rocks and trees,
As swiftly through the wildwood vale,
He panting swept the tainted trail,
O'er which a noble stag and doe
Sought safety from their noisy foe.

Long weary miles now intervene
The huntsman and his home between—
The home before whose door at morn
He'd watched the day as it was born,
And drank Aurora's spicy gale,
That, rich with perfume, filled the vale.
From thence, as dawn broke into light,
And day began its upward flight,
With eager zest and quickened pace
He'd run his long and valiant race.
He'd dashed the dew in silvery spray
From leaf and blade that hedged his way;
He'd toiled o'er hills and forest glades,

Nor paused within their cooling shades;
But once he'd knelt to drink his fill,
To quaff the wine of forest rill;
Then made impatient from delay,
With doubled zeal pursued his way,
Hour after hour through solemn wood,
Till now at last he baffled stood.

The light of hope died from his face,
And disappointment took its place.
His hunting horn with winding blare
Shook out its notes upon the air;
He fain would call from out the race
His lone companion of the chase.
But vain the call of bugle note
That trembled from its brazen throat;
For, as he wound the final blast
That from the forest back was cast,
The music of his stag hound's bay
More distant grew, then died away.

At last impelled by strange behest,
He turned his face towards the west,
Where glory of the ruby's hue
Was mingled with the sapphire's blue,
And glinting shafts of jasper light
Foretold the coming of the night.

An autumn sunset's mellow glow
Spread o'er the land its gentle flow,
And bathed the hills of verdure green
With lustre of the emerald's sheen.
It touched each point and wooded spire,
That glowed, as lit with living fire.

Arrested by the fond display
Which nature gave to closing day,
He wandered slowly through the glades,
That fast were taking somber shades;
Until, at evening's quiet hour,
His feet had found a woodland bower,
From out whose cool and inner depth
Some mystic fancy stayed his step.

Allured by this enchanting spell
He paused, and viewed each beauty well.
Around its side, in graceful bend,
A wealth of color showed its blend;
There golden-rod, in jaunty plume,
Was mingled with the aster's bloom;
While there, and here, a lily fair
Rose, fringed about with maiden-hair;
And full as oft, 'mid tangled maze,
Was flung the cardinal's scarlet blaze;
Thence, terraced back, the eglantine
With sinuous grape was intertwined;
Around its hem the birch's gray
Was mingled with the willow's spray;
And, towering high and over all,
Were maple, beech and hemlock tall;
While in the center of the ground,
Abrupt, there rose a modest mound,
O'er which there grew and intertwined
Full many a lowly creeping vine.
For long he viewed its beauties o'er,
And scanned each foot of sylvan floor,
Nor ceased when silvery moon beams' drift
Came filtering through oe'r-hanging rift
Of leafy bough and naked stem

Of trees, that formed the bower's hem.
A silence deep, intense, profound,
Filled up the glade, and all around.

At length the huntsman spoke, and said,
"Here for the night I make my bed,
Beneath this tree, my couch I'll make,
Amid these fronds of feathery brake,
And watch the nymphs of fairy lore
At sport upon the woodland floor.
Who knows but what some sylvan elf
May here at night besport himself;
Or hero of some fairy tale
A homestead claim within this vale.
May not this mound of common earth
Tell of the hour that gave it birth?
Methinks some secret it must hold
Within its breast of musty mould."
And then, as if this random thought
Some stranger vision with it brought,
The hunter gazed upon the ground,
And thus did he address the mound.
Expectantly he poised his head,
Then earnestly, but softly, said:
"Come, tell unto mine anxious ear
The story I would gladly hear;
Art thou the work of nature's hand,
Or wert thou by another planned?
Tell me the tale of mortal strife
With which this dale hath oft been rife.
If thou can'st voice a spoken word
That by a mortal's ear is heard,
None claims that word with better grace
Than he who stands now in this place.

From childhood's gay and happy hour
His home has been in woodland bower;
The life he's touched, in greater part,
Has throbbed from nature's wondrous heart.
This boon I ask, and this implore,
And asking this, crave nothing more."

He paused, and quick throughout the glade
There spread a subtle, mystic shade;
When lo! from out the heaving ground
There sprang a warrior and his hound.
The lineage of the Red Man's race
Was strongly traced upon his face.
He looked about, with calm survey,
Where moonlight fell, where shadows lay;
Then, turning toward the hunter's place,
"And thou," he said with kingly grace,
"And would'st thou have the story told
Long secret kept within this mould?
Then know! this mound which blocks the way
Is but the home of human clay;
Of him who years ago was laid
Here in the confines of this glade.
The music of whose bowstring's twang
Throughout its length hath often rang,
As swiftly flew the fatal dart,
To quiver in the bleeding heart
Of dashing stag or timid doe,
Or stretch in death the lurking foe.
Here thrush and wren their matins sang,
And then as now the forest rang
With echo, answered full and shrill
With ballad of the whip-poor-will.
Here oft I've stalked the panther's trail,

Or, guided by his piercing wail,
Have crept along to where he lay
And forced the issue of the fray;
And full as oft his tawney hide
Has graced the wigwam of my bride.
Here in the glow of council fire
The young brave sat and nursed his ire,
And bode the time when in his place,
As chieftain of his clan and race,
He too should fan his kinsman's ire
By show of wrong and word of fire,
Till vengeance burned a living coal
Within his heart and mind and soul,
And flashed its flame from out his eye
As lightning scars the darkened sky.
Here by the prowess of the chase
The Indian ran his destined race;
Nor was his soul alone in night,
For love had touched its feeble sight;
And Manitou was self-revealed
In cataract and woodland field—
We heard his voice in thunder's roar,
And in the surf-beat on the shore,
Or, wailing low in zephyr's breeze,
He softly spoke from rocks and trees,
While in the storm his mighty face
Was seen by all our humble race;
And in the lily's snowy bell
Again we saw and loved him well."
Then, hushed and low, sadly he said,
"Of all my clan, all now are dead;
Not one is left to tell the tale
Of romance of this lovely vale.
Though once I boasted power and fame,

Forgotten now is e'en my name.
O'er hill and dale a stranger race
Has forced the Red Man from the chase.
Still, when the moon with silver beam
Reflected lies in lake and stream,
The Red Man with his faithful hound
Breaks from his prison in the ground,
And forth amongst the forest glades
Revisits there with kindred shades.
In untrod wild their council fire
Flames as ghostly funeral pyre;
There warriors come and softly go
While breezes bear the murmured flow
Of speech, uncharged with anger's sound;
Each soul makes glad that it has found
The Indian's happy hunting ground.
At midnight's hour their glad halloo
Rings hither and yon the forest through,
As over hill, through forest vale,
Again they stalk the phantom trail,
While out upon yon watery floor,
Their shallops pass from shore to shore."

He paused, then said, "E'en now I hear
Them as they chase the fleet foot deer."
Then bending down with ear to ground,
As if to catch some far off sound,
He vanished from the hunter's sight,
Into the darkness of the night."

THE COUNCIL PINE

By Charles E. Belknap
Grand Rapids

WHEN the first white man came to the "Rapids of the O-wash-ta-nong" there was standing on the highest ground on the west banks of the river a great pine tree about where now is the middle of Front Avenue and Bowery Street. The tree was not remarkable for its height, but for its wide spreading and rounded top. In the following years the grading of the streets and the growth of the city caused the removal of the tree, much to the regret of the earlier residents of the city, many of whom knew of its past and the superstitious reverence in which it was held by the Indians.

It was about this tree the Indians gathered for Council. To this place came the chiefs from the two villages, one at the head and the other at the foot of the Rapids of the Far-a-way waters as well as those from all the country for hundreds of miles each way.

They counseled, feasted and made merry. Here they rehearsed the traditions of their forefathers while grouped about the fires. For countless years, canoes with their loads of men, women, and children from up and down the river with their scant wigwam supplies were landed and gave under the sheltering branches of the pine the simple greeting, "How"—before the place was selected for the wigwam somewhere in the vicinity.

It was here the Indian met the first white men who came into the country more than a hundred years before the days of Rix Robinson and Louis Campau. Here also these two met under this tree to trade, to visit and to share the food of the Red Brother.

At this place the wise men of all the country hereabout gathered to counsel and select a delegation to meet the Government officials in Chicago with a view of ceding all their lands to the Great White Father.

Tradition says, "They counseled many days under the sheltering wings of the Pine." Many talks were listened to, many opinions were given, many were against moving or giving away the land, the waters, the forest, the abundant food that the great Creator, Man-a-bo-sho had given to them. Others contended that the ways of the white men were bad. The Indian who followed in the white man's trail would soon disappear. "The Sun God will find his wigwam cold."

When the party had been selected, they proceeded to their canoes to paddle down the river on their way to Chicago. The storm clouds gathered. The thunder and the fire flashing from the sky sent them back to the shelter of the Pine from whose every spray tears were dripping.

From the women and children came wails and prayers for the Sun God to come back.

After many hours, a fresh start was made and after two moons the chiefs returned, clothed like white men, some with high silk hats and fine coats. Runners went out to call all the tribes of the land to learn their fate.

There was much ill feeling, many fiery speeches were made, and one of the chiefs was a short time afterward assassinated.

In a few years the once contented and happy traveler of the woods and waters had disappeared, leaving but a trace of his life in the wigwam tales told about the fires on wintry nights. The tales handed down from father to son, from mother to daughter were of the

creations of Man-a-bo-sho, the great god who made all that's good or evil to the red man. The charm of these tales is in the way they are told by the Indian. When told by a white man they lose their woodsy flavor, robbed of their sincerity and their poetry.

THE CREATION OF THE COUNCIL PINE

This story was told by Mack-a-de-pe-nessy, "the Blackbird," the Ottawa chief at a gathering of Indians and white men about the year 1840 in a large wigwam near the Pine.

Within the wigwam the people were circled about a woodfire upon mats of sweet grass and fur pelts; without the wigwam, a gale raged, snow filled the air; mingling with the winds, the howls and barking of Indian dogs lent vividness to the scene. In a mixture of English and Indian, with many signs where the right word could not be spoken, and with an earnestness that could not be forgotten.

In the group of white men was one, a very early settler of Grand Haven, a man of good education and tenacious memory. Pipes and tobacco lent their charms to the scene. The fire logs sent out showers of sparks and the hole in the wigwam roof carried away the smoke of both wood and tobacco.

The Blackbird reclined in one corner far from the center of the group and in all the evening was not interrupted, as a single word could have broken the spell and would have ended the tale.

"I am here in my wigwam. It is the chief's wigwam. It is large and warm. How—How. I will talk to you as my father talked, for he was chief and lived in the country of the Far-a-way water, many, many moons;

many as the fires that burn in the sky when the clouds have gone. All the world was fresh, the snows had gone, the river was free, the Sun God had come back, the waters were singing, the fish were plenty, the birds were merry in the trees; all was happiness.

A man followed by his squaw who carried upon her shoulder a papoose came from the hill to meet the Sun God at the river bank. He took a fish from the water to the high bank for the squaw to eat. Then a voice from the far side of the river called, "How." The man called back, "How." A man with a pack upon his back stepping from stone and driftwood came over and set his pack upon the ground.

He was very old, very heavy was his pack. "How, my grandfather, I have but one fish. My squaw must have food. Had I more fish, you should eat."

The traveler said, "The water has plenty fish, come with me to the small water," and they walked to the brook that was but a few steps away. The traveler broke many branches from the small trees along the banks and put them in the water, making a dam, then from each side he built wings to the center, leaving a small entrance. Then he led the way to where the brook entered the river and with pieces of driftwood they beat the waters, driving the fish up stream into the trap. There were many, and soon the two were loaded and thus did Man-a-bo-sho teach the Indian how to net fish, for the aged man was the Great Creator.

Then he took from his pack two objects, one of flint stone and one of glistening iron (Iron pyrites or fool's gold) found in plenty in the limestone bed of the river. Gathering a handful of thistle down and dry leaves, he struck the two sharply and fire dropped into the

thistle down. Soon there was a blaze and wood was piled on for fire. And thus did the Great Creator teach the Indian how to create fire.

Then did he tell the squaw to dig a hole in the ground and fill it with fire. Then he told the squaw to bring earth and water and coat the fish well in it, then cover it deep in the hot coals and ashes, and soon the balls of clay were taken from the coals. The earth fell apart and with it came the scales of the fish, leaving the meat clean and hot, well cooked. And thus did the Creator teach the Indian the way to cook his food.

And thus came many men and squaws and many papooses and all had plenty of fish and were merry. The wise man continued to take lumps of clay out of the coals and each contained a fish, until all were fed.

Then Man-a-bo-sho commanded the squaws to clean away the ashes and fire, and he took from his pack many things. He covered with earth one of them, and said some words of magic, the seed grew fast while the people watched. All could see it. First a sprout of green, then a bush, then a tree. The branches came out to shade the ground. The birds came to build their homes, the squirrels came to feast on buds. The Sun God smiled and traveled across the sky and far down the hills.

THE FAR-A-WAY WATER

(AS SUNG BY NOON-DAY, CHIEF OF THE OTTAWA, UNDER THE COUNCIL PINE)

We stand upon the hills
That far o'erlook the land,
Winding shores and vales
Sounding with songs of birds,
Where the wigwam fires burn,
Where fields of corn wave welcome in the wind.

The Far-a-way waters from winding shores,
Where rice and vines dip to drink,
Where bird and fish are many
To the rising hills where the pines sing with the winds.

On the hills high I talk with the passing water,
In the painted Sun God I see Manito.
In the Sun God's clouds I see Manito.
In the hills that go so far I see Manito.
In the winding trail of the O-wash-ta-nong,
I see Manito.

On the O-wash-ta-nong,
Land of many birds of song,
Land of many animals of fur,
Land of many trees and fruits,
Land of many wigwam fires,
I lay my gifts.

With bow and arrow I lay my gifts,
With heart and love I lay my gifts,
By the Far-a-way water
There will Manito find me.

O-WASH-TA-NONG

O-wash-ta-nong;
The country of Manito,—maker of earth and air and sky.
O-wash-ta-nong;
Land where the Sun God comes to free the sleeping waters.
O-wash-ta-nong;
Land where the foaming river spreads out from winding
Shores; where the forests murmur a welcome, and song
Birds shelter their young.
O-wash-ta-nong;
Valley of peace and plenty, of happiness and fellowship;
Valley where food and comfort abound,—where the Indians
Of all the woods and waters, come to feast, to sing and
Make merry,—where the young man paddles his canoe to
Meet the maiden,—where the Indian mother swings her
Papoose from the grape vine,—where the body of the aged
Is placed away in the hands of the Great Spirit, to live
In the Happy Hunting grounds beyond the sunset hills.
O-wash-ta-nong;
Land where the Sun God comes to free the sleeping waters.
O-wash-ta-nong;
The land of happiness, where the forests sing songs of welcome.

O-wash-ta-nong;
Where the foaming waters spread out from winding shores,
And song birds shelter their young.
O-wash-ta-nong;
Where all is happiness, where food and shelter
Is found, where comes the Indian of all the woods
And waters to feast, to sing, to make merry, where
The young man paddles his canoe to meet the maiden,
Where the Indian mother swings her papoose from the grape vine,
Where the body of the aged is placed away in the hands of
The Great Spirit, to live in the happy hunting grounds beyond
The sunset hills.
O-wash-ta-nong;
Country where Manito lives, land of peace, happiness,
Plenty, and fellowship.
O-wash-ta-nong;
He stood upon an eminence that wide
O'erlooked a land where wandered the winding
Shores of an enchanted water.
At his right there lay a vale with
Glens where oft a glimpse of wigwam came, and
Fields of ferns and cat tails sighed a welcome.
At his left there grew wild rice and
Bending willows, dipped into the foaming tide
And far beyond the ever verdant pine, on hill
And in valley, sang with the western winds.
He turned to gaze upon the scene.
Tall and erect, with feathers upon
His head, with air and step of dignity.
In his hands held he bow and arrow,

And he would have passed, but that I spoke to him,
"Pray whither comest thou? And whither goest?"
"My coming is from the Master of life.
I go at his command to satisfy the cravings of man.
What the great spirit gives, I take with
Joy.
It was Manito who made this land of
Earth and air and sky, of valley and woods and
Water."

O-WASH-TA-NONG

(As told by Ol-be-wa-wa, The white Woodpecker, a Chippewa medicine man.)

O-wash-ta-nong, "the Far-a-way waters," the "longest stream," was the Indian name for the Grand River and its valley.

To the red man, the O-wash-ta-nong was a land where the foaming river spread out from winding shores, a land where the Sun God came first in the spring to free the sleeping waters.

Here was a valley of peace and plenty, where fish, game and fruit abounded and here the Indians of all the woods and waters came and feasted and made merry. Here the forests murmured a welcome and the song birds sheltered their young; here the young man paddled his canoe to meet the maiden, the Indian mother swung her papoose from the grape vine and here the body of the aged were laid away when the soul had gone with the Great Spirit to live in the Happy Hunting Grounds beyond the sunset hills.

Gathered about the wigwam fires of the days when the white man first came to the Grand River Valley were Ina-ki-zik, or Chief Noon-day of the Ottawas, Mig-is-o-nee-nee (the Wampum Man), Muck-i-ta-wa, (the Blackskin), Cob-mu-sa (the Traveler), Wa-ba-sis (the Hazy Cloud), all great medicine men; and as the pipe of friendship passed about the circle, the smoke in fragrant waves charmed forth the memories of their youth. While in the darkness without the O-wash-ta-nong went rippling over rock and pebble and the night birds called in plaintive song, thus spoke Ina-ki-zik to his companions reclining in the weird shadows cast by the wigwam fires, of the teachings and traditions of his people, as handed down by many generations before the coming of the Che-mi-ku-man (the pale face).

And then Man-i-bo-sho, the Creator of all, made the red man of the woods to have all that is upon the land and in the water and in the air. With his pack upon his back, he traveled far and visited with his creations.

To the land of the sleeping Sun God, beyond the hills, he journeyed; to the land of the great war eagles that called in anger and sent fire from their mouths; to the land of ice and snow whence come hunger and distress, and then at the last to the land of warm winds and song birds to the "Far-a-way waters," the "O-wash-ta-nong."

Here, old and weary, he built a wigwam that he might rest where the waters were pure, where the fish were many in the waters, where the fruits were many and the birds were happy in the air, where the forest was painted many colors and the animals of the forest were as many as the leaves on the trees when the Sun God smiled.

Paddling his canoe down the winding course of the river, Man-i-bo-sho talked with the bird of the happy song, the Bob-o-link. No sorrow had he in his life, no winter, so the Creator gave him painted wings and a home in the bush just above the water.

And when the bird of the blue dress, the King Fisher, scolded from a tree, Man-i-bo-sho made a white belt from the feathers of a loon and placed it about his neck, a war cap from the feathers of a hawk on his head and gave him the voice of a robber for his throat and the bare limb of a tree for his home.

He taught the Beaver to form the quiet streams that make the meadows of ferns and grass for water-loving birds and other wood folks, and trailing through the forest to meet the morning Sun God he rested his pack against a tree and taught O-pee-chee, the bird of the red breast (the Robin) to sing his rain song.

Pleased with his creations he took from his pack, tobacco and pipes and placed them upon the rocks about the water, that the red man might smoke to charm away the evil spirits. Then Man-i-bo-sho rested, for he was old and had traveled far.

Then came the Sun God to walk with the spirits of the water and the trees, and the land of the O-wash-ta-nong was redden with fire. The spirits of the night made fires in the wigwams of the sky, but Man-i-bo-sho saw it not, for he was old and had traveled far.

But the red men were busy upon the water with spear and torch, for the fish were many, and the wigwams hung with fruit and corn, with skins of bear and deer and beaver, for the Sun God walked far in the waters of the O-wash-ta-nong.

The squaws sang of Nin-a-ma-sho (my sweetheart) and the papoose was swinging in the vine. All was

happiness for all had plenty, but Man-i-bo-sho knew it not, for he was old and had traveled far. So the white spirits (the white gulls) winged his soul away to the hunting grounds beyond the hills of the O-wash-ta-nong.

SONGS OF THE O-WASH-TA-NONG

(As chanted by a squaw under the Council Pine)

The Sun God comes beyond the hills
The birds make songs of welcome,
The smoke of the wigwam fire,
The forests awake from their sleep.

Oh! spirit of the moving leaves!
Oh! spirit of the rippling water!
Oh! spirit of the morning light!
Oh! spirit of the starry night!
Listen to my prayer.

Spirit of the Far-a-way waters,
Welcome thou to my wigwam ever,
Bind it o'er with pleasant dreams,
Give me the life that spirits live.
Listen! Oh, Manito!

LEGISLATION BY GOVERNOR AND JUDGES

By William L. Jenks, M. A.
Port Huron

WHEN the United States, through the cessions of Virginia, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, came in 1784 to the titular sovereignty and ownership of the country northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, it had, subject to the rights of the Indians and also subject to the fact of actual possession by the British of the posts at Detroit and Mackinac, a great empire of 265,000 square miles. It was expected that the British possession would soon be surrendered and when that was done Congress would have subject to its jurisdiction, excluding Indians, perhaps 5000 souls of whom four-fifths or more were French, the remainder chiefly English and Scotch, with a few Americans.

On March 1, 1784, the committee of Congress of which Mr. Jefferson was chairman, to which had been committed the subject of a plan for the temporary government of the western territory, made its report[1], and although this report was strong on the general principles upon which the government should be based, it was singularly weak in its lack of any practical provisions for the immediate future. Congress had seen population rapidly going into the country south of the Ohio River, but conditions were quite different on the north of that river, that area being occupied by many Indian tribes who were known to be in most

1. Merriam, *Hist. of Ordinance*, 8.

cases unfriendly or distinctly hostile, and it should have been evident even then that settlement and establishment of political institutions over such a vast new territory would be a slow process extending over several years under the most favorable conditions. And yet the only provision relating to the manner in which the inhabitants of that territory should be governed was the following:

"The settlers—shall, either on their own petition or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them with appointments of time and place for their free males of full age within the limits of their state to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any of the original states; so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature.[2]

This report was recommitted to the same committee on March 17[3] and was reported back March 23, and the next day assigned for consideration. This was again taken up for consideration April 19[4] and discussed on that and the two following days. This particular section was first brought up for discussion on April 21, when Mr. Gerry, supported by Mr. Jefferson, moved that the first part of the section read:

"That on the petition of the settlers in any territory so purchased of the Indians or otherwise obtained, and sold to individuals, or on the order of Congress, authority may be given by Congress with appointments of time and place, for all free males of full age, being citizens of the United States and owning lands

2. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
4. *Jour. of Cong.*, IX, 98.

or residing within the limits of their state to meet together"; this motion was lost, four States voting "aye," two voting "no," and five divided.[5]

Later in the same day Mr. Read of South Carolina, supported by Mr. McHenry of Maryland, offered the only resolution which evinced an appreciation of the circumstances and of the necessity of an immediate practicable working government. He moved that a provision be added to the report, "That till such time as the settlers aforesaid shall have adopted the constitution and laws of some one of the original States as aforesaid, for a temporary government, the said settlers shall be ruled by magistrates to be appointed by the United States in Congress assembled and under such laws and regulations as the United States in Congress assembled shall direct.[6]

This motion was lost although six States voted "aye," and but one State (Connecticut) "no,"[7] as three States were divided and New Jersey had but one representative present,—it requiring the affirmative votes of seven States to pass any law.

The report came up again for consideration April 23, and Mr. Gerry moved that the report be amended by adding the following clause:

"That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the Confederation and necessary for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers in any of the said new States, until they shall assume a temporary government as aforesaid, may from time to time, be taken by the United States in Congress assembled."[8]

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5. *Ibid.*, 103.
6. *Ibid.*, 105.
7. *Ibid.*, 4-106.
8. *Ibid.*, 108.

Mr. Read again offered the same motion as on April 21, to replace the Gerry motion, but this time it received only two affirmative votes, with five negative votes and three States divided, and then Mr. Gerry's motion was adopted and became part of the Ordinance which was finally adopted the same day.[9]

Under this Ordinance the United States never attempted to provide any government for the Territory, or any regulations for the peace and order of its inhabitants. Negotiations with the Indians, wars and treaties with them, were the chief expression of the interest of Congress. The treaties of Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney, in the years 1784, 1785 and 1786, gave Congress some ground for claiming that at last it had full title, to some territory over which it might exercise jurisdiction, but little examination was needed to show that it had so far provided no machinery of government over the Territory. Accordingly, in April, 1786, Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, a well known and capable lawyer then serving his first term in Congress, moved the appointment of a committee to consider and report the form of a temporary government for the western States,[10] and Monroe, Johnson of Connecticut, King of Massachusetts, Kean and Pinckney of South Carolina, were appointed the committee. Doubtless Monroe was appointed the chairman because he was personally more familiar with the situation than any member of Congress, as he had traveled out to be present at the treaty of Fort Stanwix upon the Miami in 1784, and had returned with a little—and dangerous—knowledge of the value and possibilities of the country. For some unknown reason

9. *Ibid.*, 109.
10. Rep. of Com. in Lib. of Cong.

the mover of the motion was not even named on the committee.

May 10 the committee reported, and May 18 was assigned for consideration of the report[11] which was then printed and on July 13 amended and recommitted. This report or plan of government provided a governor, a council of five members, a secretary to the governor and council, a court of five judges with common law and chancery jurisdiction; all these officials to be appointed by Congress. The duties of the council were quite vague and indefinite, being to attend upon the governor when required and advise him upon such subjects as he might submit to their consideration, but it was expressly provided that he was at liberty to refuse their advice in accordance with his own judgment.

With the exception of the judges, whose term was during good behavior, the term of the other officials was left blank to be filled by Congress. The report further provided:

"The laws of—except in such cases as are herein provided for, shall be established in such district and continue in force, subject only to alteration by the General Assembly after it shall be organized."[12]

Evidently the committee could not agree upon the state whose laws were to be adopted by Congress and intended to leave the question to be decided by that body.

The report also provided that when the population of the district should reach—free male inhabitants

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11. The original report, now in the Library of Congress, bears the endorsement: "Report of Committee on motion of Mr. Dane for considering and reporting the form of a temporary government for the western States—Entd—read May 10, 1786. The Com. Mr. Monroe, Mr. Johnson, Mr. King, Mr. Kean, Mr. Pinckney, Thursday, May 18, 1786, assigned for consideration. July 13, 1786, recomd. The report as amended inclosed."

12. Report of Committee.

"a General Assembly should be constituted consisting of governor and council and an elected house of representatives, and later upon obtaining sufficient growth so that the district should 'contain an equal number of free male inhabitants with the least number of the thirteen original States *for the time being*,' " it might be erected into a State.[13]

During the discussion of July 13 many changes were made in the plan; the term of the governor was fixed at three years, that of the secretary at two years, and the council was eliminated, as was also the provision for the adoption of the laws of some particular State. The governor was authorized to appoint such magistrates and other civil officers as he might think necessary. A general assembly was authorized as soon as the district should contain 500 free male inhabitants of full age, the assembly to consist of the governor, a legislative council of five members to be appointed by Congress, and an elected house of representatives,[14] but no provision remained for any legislation prior to the general assembly. In view of the small number of inhabitants required to entitle the district to an assembly, this period was evidently expected to be very short.

It is quite probable that when the report was recommitted on July 13, it was to a new committee, as the next report on the subject was presented in September, and it was headed "The Committee consisting *of* Mr. Johnson, Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Smith, Mr. Dane and Mr. Henry. Appointed to prepare a *plan of a temporary*

13. "It is in effect to be a colonial gov't similar to that wh. prevailed in these states previous to the revolution with that remarkable and important difference that when such districts shall contain the number of the least numerous of the 13 original states for the time being they shall be admitted into the confederacy." Monroe to Jefferson, May 17, 1786.

14. Rep. May 10

government for such Districts or new States as shall be laid out by the United States upon the principles of the Acts of Cession from individual States and admitted into the Confederacy" submit the following report.[15]

The new committee contained only two members,—Johnson and Pinckney—of those appointed in April. Mr. Kean was absent from Congress from sometime in May until September. Monroe and King, although present in Congress from the time of their report in May until after September 1, were for some reason left off and Melancton Smith, a successful business man from New York of high reputation for ability and character, Dane, the original mover of the committee, and John Henry of Maryland were the new members. Under date of August 24, 1786, the Journals of Congress mention the report of a committee consisting of Mr. Monroe, Mr. Johnson, Mr. King, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Smith, to whom had been referred a petition from the inhabitants of Kaskaskies for the organization of a government over that district. It will be noted that this is the same committee as the one appointed in April, with the exception of Mr. Smith of New York being substituted for Mr. Kean, but no indication is given of the date when the committee was appointed.

This report was made to Congress Sept. 19,[16] and differed in a number of respects from that presented May 10, even after the amendments made July 13. It omitted the preamble, contained practically all the positive changes made during the discussion, and added some entirely new provisions, among which were two sections with relation to the descent and

15. Rep. Sept. 19, Lib. of Cong.
16. *Ibid.*

alienation of property, probably inserted by Dane, and one prohibiting interference by the general assembly with the lands of the United States or taxing the lands of non-residents higher than others. Another new provision was the securing of the right of habeas corpus and of trial by jury. The provisions regarding governor, secretary and judges were retained in the form as amended in July. An entirely new provision regarding the laws which should govern the Territory before the Assembly came into being, was inserted, and in the new report read, "That the judges should agree on the criminal laws of some one State, in their opinion the most perfect, which shall prevail in said district, until the organization of the general assembly."

Although the *Journals of Congress* are silent upon the subject, there must have been considerable discussion of the report as several amendments were made to it. The provisions relating to descent and alienation, were stricken out; in the section relating to laws, the word "civil" was inserted before criminal.[17] The first reference to the report in the *Journals* after September 19 is the entry of September 29 which refers to the consideration of the Ordinance and the clause relating to the oath of office, and says that further consideration of the Ordinance was then postponed.[18]

Consideration was resumed October 4, and an amendment was proposed and lost,[19] and although that Congress held 22 more sessions there is no record of further consideration; in fact the attendance was very small during most of the time, and Mr. Johnson, chairman of the Committee, was not present after October 23.

17. *Ibid.*
18. *Jour. of Cong.*, VII, p. 168.
19. *Ibid.*, 169.

The next Congress was due to meet November 6, 1786, but no quorum was present until January 17, 1787, and from that date not again until February 2. All the members of the committee were members of the new Congress, and a new report presumably by them was presented to Congress April 26.[20] This was in printed form and entitled:

"An Ordinance for the Government of the Western Territory." It was substantially, with two exceptions, the last preceding report as amended in the discussions. The exceptions were, first, the reduction of the number of judges from five to three, and giving the court only common law and not chancery jurisdiction; and second, a change in reference to the adoption of temporary laws. The report now provided that: "The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the districts such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district and report them to Congress from time to time, which shall prevail in said district until the organization of the General Assembly, unless disapproved of by Congress," thus adding the governor to the law making or adopting power.

While this report was before Congress the title was amended to read: "An Ordinance for the temporary government of the Territory of the U. S. N. W. of the River Ohio."[21]

The report probably had its first reading on the day of its presentation. On May 9 it was read a second time,[22] several minor amendments were made, and the

20. Rep. April 26, 1788 in Lib. of Cong.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Jour. of Cong.*

important clause relating to the number of inhabitants required before the district could be admitted as a State stricken out entirely, and it was ordered transcribed,[23] and the next day was set for its third reading.[24] On that day, however, the third reading was postponed and there was no quorum of Congress after May 11, until July 4. On July 9 the report was referred to a committee consisting of Mr. Carrington of Virginia, Mr. Dane, Mr. Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, Mr. Kean and Mr. Smith.[25] Neither Mr. Johnson, Mr. Pinckney or Mr. Henry had been present for more than two months, the first two being in attendance and actively engaged in the Federal Convention framing the new Constitution. Doubtless Mr. Carrington was selected as member and chairman of this committee because he was an influential member of Congress and especially because he was the chairman of the committee which had been appointed May 9 to act upon the memorial of the Ohio Company to purchase lands in the Northwestern Territory and which had not yet made its report. Mr. Dane was also a member of both committees.[26]

July 11 the new committee reported "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio," which was read a first time.[27] On the next day it was read a second time and amended and the following day assigned for the third reading.[28] On Friday, July 13, it was read

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23. Rep. April 26.
24. *Ibid., Jour of Cong.*, V. 12, p. 49.
25. Endorsement in Rep. April 26.
26. May 8, the Ohio Company through Gen. Parsons made a detailed proposition to Congress to purchase 600,000 acres of land, the 7th clause of the proposition reading "That the settlers shall be under the immediate government of Congress in such mode and for such time as Congress shall judge proper."
27. *Ibid., Jour. of Cong.*, V. 12, p. 57.
28. *Ibid., Jour. of Cong.*, V. 12, p. 58.

a third time and passed unanimously by the vote of eight States present. New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Maryland not being represented.[29]

The Ordinance as reported and adopted embodied almost exactly the amended report of May 9, but contained many large and important additions. The only new feature in the provisions relating to temporary government was that all the officers to be appointed by Congress were required to reside in the district and to be possessed of freehold estates.

The question of the authorship of the famous Ordinance of 1787, and of several of its best known clauses and sections has been thoroughly examined and vigorously debated, and Dane, Cutler and others assigned their proper share and influence, but the credit for inventing that most undemocratic and really extraordinary form of temporary government with legislative power by governor and judges seems never to have been claimed by anyone.

William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut was chairman of the committee which reported September 19, 1786, and made another report April 26, 1787, the latter containing the provisions giving the power of adopting laws to the governor and judges, and having substantially the form in which it was finally enacted into the Ordinance. The other members of the Committee were Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, Melancton Smith of New York, Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, and John Henry of Maryland. Johnson and Pinckney were also members of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and all but Smith were lawyers.

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29. *Ibid.*, *Jour of Cong.*, V. 12, p. 63.

All the reports prior to the one of April, 1787, differed materially from the latter in the provision for temporary government. The report of May, 1786, assumed that Congress would adopt the laws of some particular State to govern the new Territory until its own general assembly came into being. The report of September, 1786, authorized the judges alone to adopt the criminal laws of some one State to prevail until an assembly was organized, but made no provision whatever for laws governing civil matters. In the discussion, however, by Congress, the word "civil" was inserted so that the judges could adopt both civil and criminal laws of some one State.

The report of April, 1787, contained a material change from any of the preceding reports. The governor was added to the judges as a part of the law selecting power, and it was no longer necessary to adopt laws of some one State, but laws might be selected from any of the original States. Another entirely new feature was the retention by Congress of the right of disapproval of the laws.

Much of this report was the same as the last preceding one but in this matter the change was vital. It is probable enough that the committee assumed that the period during which the governor and judges would have legislative power would be short, and the inconvenience or impossibility of finding statutes which would be fitted to such different surroundings and conditions did not occur to them.

It is difficult however to conceive how a Congress sitting in the same city and at the same time with the Federal Convention, and with many members the same in both bodies, could adopt for the Western Territory a form of government so undemocratic, and with

such a mingling of the administrative, legislative and judicial functions. In the Constitution which the Federal Convention adopted there is a careful and thorough separation of the functions, and this was regarded as one of its greatest merits. It is true that Dane was not a member of the Convention, was, indeed, opposed to it, but Pinckney and Johnson were in the Convention, and the air was full of the propriety of separating the three great functions of government.

One of the first acts of the Federal Convention was to determine May 30, 1787, that a national government should be established consisting of a supreme legislative executive and judiciary. "This tripartite division in the power of legislation—so at the time wrote Madison, so thought all the great builders of the Constitution, so asserted John Adams with vehemence and sound reasoning—is absolutely essential to the success of a federal republic."[30]

The letter of the Federal Judges in Pennsylvania to the President, dated April 18, 1792, says: "It is a principle important to freedom that, in government the *judicial* should be distinct from and *independent* of the *Legislative* department. To this important principle the people of the United States in forming their Constitution have manifested the highest regard."[31]

The Constitution of Massachusetts put the same idea in a form which was found in substance in the constitutions of the other States. "The Legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers or either of them. The Executive shall

30. Bancroft, *Hist. of U. S.*, Last Rev., VI, 446.
31. *Ann. of Congress*, 2nd Cong., p. 573.

never exercise the Legislative and Judicial powers or either of them! The Judicial shall never exercise the Legislative and Executive powers or either of them."

The Federalist devotes several chapters to the same important subject. In fine, every statesman or political philosopher was familiar with the idea and strongly in favor of it, and yet we find in this instance a notable committee recommending, and the Congress adopting a form of government for an immense territory which violated this very principle. The judges under this form if acting together could adopt a law and then as a court construe it. The governor with two judges could select a statute, and as executive be called upon to enforce it. It may be thought that the apprehended evil results of such a combination of powers could not follow when only complete laws already enacted and in force in other States were selected, but, as a matter of fact, from the first going into effect of the Ordinance new laws were not "adopted" from other States, but were actually created and enacted.

We have seen the evolution of this provision: it had no precedent, and to whose suggestion it was due cannot be determined with certainty. Johnson, the chairman of the committee, was a learned lawyer, of the highest character and with large experience. He took an influential position in the Federal Convention, and was chairman of the Committee on Style and Arrangement which prepared the final form of the Constitution. There is nothing in his letters or papers to indicate that he exercised any influence in this Congressional committee.

Smith was a business man, of good judgment, thoughtful, and from his general characteristics, not

likely to propose a scheme of government differing essentially from any known, and indeed, opposed to well established principles. Henry was a lawyer of good standing in his State, but not of enough force or ability to impress himself upon his associates or contemporaries. None of the foregoing ever made a claim to the authorship of the Ordinance or any part of it. Dane was an eminent, hardheaded lawyer from Massachusetts, who certainly had much to do with the final form of the Ordinance and claimed to be its chief author, and who is the only one of the committee who has left any record or statement bearing on the authorship.[32] In 1830 he said when referring to the part he took in framing the Ordinance, that he did not refer "to the temporary parts in the forming of which in part in 1786 Mr. Pinckney and myself, and I think Smith, took a part." In another place he says: "He (Dane) was assisted in that committee of 1786 in the temporary organization almost solely by Mr. C. Pinckney, who did so little he left himself at liberty to condemn this Ordinance in that debate." Again, he says: "The organization providing officers to select or make, to decide on and execute laws, being temporary, was not deemed an important part of the Ordinance of '87. Charles Pinckney assisted in striking out a part of this in 1786; by "striking out" he evidently means framing.

There remains only Pinckney, an extremely able young man of 29, full of ideas; as a member of the Convention he presented to that body a complete scheme for a Constitution, and it has been argued with some force that his plan furnished most of the sub-

32. The papers of Pinckney which might have thrown some light on this matter were burned during the Civil War.

stance and much of the language of the one adopted. It would seem that of all the committee he was the most likely to propose something new and untried, a political experiment in a new field.

The form of government by Governor and Judges was destined to be used much more extensively than its framers expected. Given to the Northwest Territory in 1787, it continued there until September, 1799, when the Territory passed to the second stage provided in the Ordinance of Governor, Legislative Council and House of Representatives.[33]

In the meantime Congress created by Act of May 26, 1790, the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio, with the provision that its government should be (with certain exceptions) in all respects similar to that provided in the Ordinance of 1787, and the first or temporary form continued until the election of representatives in December, 1793.[34]

By Act of April, 1798, the Territory of Mississippi was created with the same provision for government, but this temporary form lasted only until May 10, 1800, when Congress, because of the complaints and troubles in the Territory over the legislation by the Governor and Judges, enacted that the Territory should pass at once to the second or General Assembly stage, although it fell short of the number of inhabitants required by the Ordinance.[35]

By Act of Congress May 7, 1800, the Territory of Indiana was created with provisions that it should be governed in the manner provided by the Ordinance of 1787, except that the second, or Assembly form,

33. *St. Clair Papers* I, 208.
34. *Ann. of Congress.*
35. *Ann. of Congress.*

should go into operation whenever desired by the majority of the free holders, whatever their number, and the first form of government prevailed until 1804.[36]

Congress, by an Act of March 26, 1804, divided the newly acquired Louisiana into two Territories, and made the northern part the *District* of Louisiana, and provided that the Governor and Judges of Indiana Territory should exercise executive and legislative power over the District, and in the matter of legislation gave them power to "make all laws which they should deem conducive to the good government of the inhabitants;" but this continued for less than a year as the *Territory* of Louisiana covering the same area was created by Act of March 3, 1805.

By this Act it was provided that the legislative power should be vested in the Governor and three Judges, or a majority of them, who should have power to "make all laws which they deem conducive to the good government of the inhabitants." This condition existed until June 4, 1812, when Congress passed an Act changing the name of the Territory to Missouri, and providing a legislature consisting of the Governor, Legislative Council and House of Representatives.

The Act of January 11, 1805, creating the Territory of Michigan established the form of temporary government provided in the Ordinance of 1787, as amended by the Act of August 7, 1789, and in this case the first form continued until June, 1824, although the Territory had long before acquired the necessary number of inhabitants to entitle it to the second form.

The Territory of Illinois was created by Act of Congress approved February 3, 1809, which provided a form of government in all respects similar to that

provided by the Ordinance in 1787, and the Act of Aug. 7, 1789, but authorized the passing to the second grade of government whenever it was desired by a majority of the freeholders, irrespective of the number. This occurred in 1812, the first General Assembly meeting in November, 1812.

Thus in all, seven Territories had legislatures conconsisting of a Governor and Judges for periods ranging from a little less than a year in the case of the District of Louisiana, to nineteen years in the case of Michigan.

Old Veterans' Stories

By the Lansing Lodge, Sons of Veterans

THE BRAGGART'S WATERLOO

Contributed by Bernard B. Whittier

"WELL, I'll tell you, anyhow. It'll only take a minute, and it'll show you who does the talking."

The old comrade leaned forward in his chair almost eagerly, a broad smile on his face. The discussion had turned to Old Soldiers' stories, and the statement had been made that the more fighting the old boys had seen, the less inclined they were to talk about it. It was in defense of this patent fact that the illustration was forthcoming.

"It was while I was night-watching at the old newspaper office, where the Y.M.C.A. now stands. I had been told that night to bring home some medicine sure, without fail, so at nine o'clock I went my rounds, locked the door, and went around the corner to the drug store.

"Now in the 8th Michigan there was a Capt. C—, an Englishman, who was all tactics, and who had brought the English tactics into his company. Discipline, all discipline! Absolutely stiff attention; stringing 'em up by the thumbs for breach of discipline, and all such stuff as that, you know. Well, of course it didn't take long to get the boys down on him, and he was soon got rid of.

"When I went into the drug store, which was his hanging out place, there was the Captain, all dressed

up in his blue, his brass buttons all shined up, his hand stuck into his coat, pacing back and forth, back and forth, just as military as could be. Just behind the stove sat two old boys on the bench, and they were telling all about it. Why, they had killed till they couldn't kill any more. They had marched for miles on corpses. They had waded in blood up to their shoe tops.

"Leaning up against the end of the counter, with his heels stuck in the rounds of his stool, sat a stranger chewing gum and taking it all in and apparently enjoying it. The Captain wasn't paying any attention to him, and neither were the other two. But after a while, after they had fought the war through again, the Captain turned to the stranger.

"'Sounds like war, eh?' he said.

"'Yep,' said the stranger, without slackening his chewing.

"'You didn't get into the war, I suppose; too young,' said the Captain.

" 'Yep,' chewing.

" 'Oh, you did! Right at the close of the war, I suppose.'

" 'Nope, saw it all," chewing.

" 'You did!' The Captain was surprised. 'How old may you be, if I may ask?'

" 'Sev'nty two,' chewing.

" 'You are! Well, you don't look it. You hold your age well. And what regiment were you in, if I may ask?'

" '8th Michigan,' chewing.

" 'Oh, you were!' The Captain was more surprised than ever. 'I wouldn't have believed it. Who was the Colonel, if I may ask?'

"The stranger named him, and the Lieutenant Colonel, and the whole field staff.

" 'But surely you didn't serve very long,' said the Captain. 'You didn't see many of these terrible battles.'

" 'Yep,' chewing, 'all but one.'

" 'Oh, you did!' said the Captain, still unconvinced. 'And what was the matter that you didn't see that one?'

" 'In the hospital,' said the stranger, without a pause in his chewing.

" 'Oh, you were. And why were you in the hospital?'

" 'Wounded,' chewing.

" 'Oh, you were! Nothing serious, eh?'

" 'Oh, some of 'em were, an' some weren't,' and the stranger went on chewing.

"But still the Captain wasn't satisfied.

" 'Do you remember any of the company officers in the 8th?' he asked.

" 'Dunno. Hardly. Pretty long ago,' said the stranger, between chews.

" 'That's true,' said the Captain. 'But think hard. See if you can't recall some of them. Some of the company commanders.'

"The stranger named two or three of the Captains.

" 'See if you can't think of some more,' urged the Captain, hoping for a little personal glory out of it. 'Think hard. Didn't you know a Capt. C—?'

" 'Cap. C—?' mused the stranger, chewing harder than ever. 'Lemme see. Nope. There wa'n't no Capt. C—.'

" 'Oh, yes there was,' said the Captain. 'Think hard, now, and see if you can't place him.'

" 'Capt. C—. Capt. C—,' mused the stranger. 'Oh, yes. Seems to me I do remember a Lieutenant

C—, but no Captain. Maybe he acted as Captain sometimes, when their Captain was sick, but I doubt it. Reg'lar old crank. Used to string 'em up by the thumbs. But he didn't last long. Last I heerd they'd sent him up to some detention camp up'n New York som'ers, to wait till his enlistment was up.'

"But by that time the Captain was disappearing out the door, with his coat tails a-flying out behind him. But that'll show you who does the most talking, the fellow who saw the most, or the one who didn't."—[Related by Daniel S. Mevis, Company D, 14th Mich. Infantry]

CORNERED AT CROSS LANES

Contributed by Capt. Frank Paine

Our first march was from Clarksburg to Weston, Va., 23 miles in the night to surprise the town, which we did at sunrise in the morning, but the unmerciful loads we packed in our knapsacks through the never ending night nearly vanquished us. You may bet it was the last time we carried such heavy loads on the march.

From Weston we proceeded southward. At Salt Lick bridge we first encountered rebel pickets. We were in camp when the alarm was given, the long roll was sounded, and in the excitement of falling in Billy Cain's revolver was accidentally discharged, fatally wounding his bunk mate, Harvey Johnson. Billy Cain was detailed to take care of him till he died.

At Summerville we were joined by the 23rd Ohio and other regiments and were formed into a brigade. Near here two of our Captains, while riding too far in

the rear of our column, were captured by rebel cavalry.

At Summerville, I remember, we pitched our tents late at night, and in the morning when I took up my blanket I discovered a little snake, which we took to be a blue racer, curled up in a little hollow in the ground filled with leaves, over which we had been unconsciously sleeping through the night.

From Summerville our brigade moved on to Cross Lanes and went into camp to guard a ford across the Gauley River about a mile distant. Our main forces under Gen. J. D. Cox occupied a position on the west side of the river at Gauley Bridge, about twenty-five miles below our camp, where the Gauley empties into the Kanawha, and Gen. Floyd in command of the rebel forces was on the east side of the Gauley, threatening an attack on his front.

August 24 our brigade was ordered up to Five Mile Creek to be in supporting distance, leaving the ford unguarded. Gen. Floyd took advantage of the occasion to move up the river to the ford. The next day, August 25, our regiment alone was ordered back to Cross Lanes to guard the ford. We arrived at the crossing just at dark and went into bivouac in the edge of the forest, throwing out two companies towards the river as pickets. It was a cold night, and before morning the boys built big fires to keep warm by. We heard the bugles of the enemy, but did not know that they were crossing the river.

Early in the morning, while the boys were getting breakfast, I took a half dozen canteens to a well at the corners to fill them. I had filled three or four when I heard firing on the pickets, and looking up saw a regiment of Rebs coming across our old camp grounds on the double quick to surround us. The companies

were hastily falling in, and I started back and met my company in the road. By this time the enemy appeared on the other side just coming out of the woods. There was but one avenue of escape, and that was to the hills, before the enemy entirely enclosed us, for they had ten to one against us.

We, or about 400 of us, took across the meadow to the hills, which we gained, but lost our Captain who fell at the head of his company.

As we entered the forest the color-bearer broke off his flag staff and wound the colors about him. We had about 400 men. Some of the officers had escaped on horse back, but Major Casment and Adjutant DeForest stuck by us.

We found that the hills were in a three-cornered or triangular shape about two or three miles across the shortest way, formed by three roads, and the rebels were patrolling the road on all sides. We beat across two or three times, and as we came out on the road found the enemy in force.

It was a hot day and not a drop of water to be found in the hills. I still held on to my canteens of water, which was very fortunate. It was nearly noon and many of the boys were suffering for drink. I doled it out sparingly.

We halted and held a council of war, and made up our minds that we were going through the lines if we had to fight our way through. We advanced to the western side of the woods, and watched our opportunity. We came down the hillside where the bushes were thickest and would shield us from view. The road here ran down a creek valley. We could see a short distance down the road a regiment of rebel infantry, and a squadron of cavalry was passing us to patrol

the road above. We waited until the cavalry turned a bend in the road above, then made a dash across the stream and up the opposite bank. It was a steep bluff covered with laurel bushes. We did not try to find a better place, but hustled right up through the laurels. We had two horses, but we drew them up through the bushes by main force, and gaining the top of the hill we hastily rushed into the forest to avoid the cavalry which followed us about twenty miles.

After we got away from our predicament at Cross Lanes we traveled all day and night and next day, and the next day we came to a valley in the mountains where a man had a cornfield and some young cattle, and was burning some big log heaps clearing his pasture. We bought a couple of steers, and while they were killing and dressing the beef the boys, being hungry, went to roasting corn at the burning log heaps. When the corn was about half roasted there came an alarm, and off we went again, the boys eating their corn roasted on one side.

That night we passed through a valley so dark that a man could hardly see his hand before his face. We had a good guide, and we went along in single file, each man placing his hands on the next man's shoulders. We got along very well till we came to a gully cut across the path by the water coming down the hill, and our guide could not find the foot bridge. It was remembered that a man in Co. H, marching in the rear, had a candle, so word was passed down the line, "Company H man, send up your candle," and the candle was passed up from hand to hand till it reached the front of the line. It lighted us across the cut.

Just after daylight, leaving the valley, we came out upon a plantation where we obtained a few corn-

dodgers, and before noon reached the Elk River, which we crossed at a ford and stopped at a plantation on the west side of the river. They put a large caldron kettle over an out-door fire to boil corn for us, and the folks in the house went to baking wheat biscuits. By watching my turn at the window I got one about as big as my fist, and although the inside was still dough, I thought it was the best biscuit I ever ate.

We felt safe now, but we had to go down the Elk about 30 miles to Charleston, which we accomplished the next two days. Many without shoes, and feet bleeding, went down the Elk in boats as they could get them. The day before we arrived in Charleston we were met by trains bringing us supplies; by this time we were pretty hungry.

That night I remember we slept in a pasture, the rain pattering into our faces. Next day we arrived in Charleston, on the Kanawha, and remained there about two months. Many of our boys who had escaped through the woods to Gauley Bridge joined us there, but it was reported that we lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners about 200 men.—[Experience of Franklin Paine, Co. E, 7th Ohio Vol. Inft.—August, 1861]

GENERAL MORGAN'S TURKEYS

Contributed by Daniel S. Mevis

Some time in December, '62, while our regiment was stationed at Stone River, Tenn., our Captain, J. J. Jeffries, being an old bridge builder, Co. D was detailed to rebuild a certain bridge destroyed by the Johnnies,

it being very desirous to cross the river at this point on the Lebanon Pike.

We were mighty short on rations and also on forage for our "Serenaders" (the mules); accordingly a foraging train was started out down the Pike one fine morning—12 wagons, 2 pieces of artillery, and of course 100 men, and the train proceeded down the Lebanon Pike as far as the "Hermitage" (the old Gen'l Jackson plantation), and then west on the Franklin Pike, notwithstanding we were aware that General John Morgan was camped near Franklin with some thirty or forty thousand of his outlaws.

However, we poled in at a very large plantation where, according to the lady of the house, they were good "Union people!!!" and we thought as much, as there were only nine wounded horses in the barnyard, with other indications of Rebeldom, and not a man on the plantation. Well, we loaded up on the double quick and headed for camp, after giving the "Lady" a receipt for the provender, including a few turkeys that some of the boys had unearthed way back in the rear of the place.

However, we returned to camp with five men short; they were simply "missing." One of the missing boys showed up in camp next day and told his story. He wanted more turkey, heard turkeys gobble down in a swale farther to the rear, went for them and was captured by a squad of Johnnies from the swale. Our "reporter" got away, mounted one of those horses and galloped down the Pike homeward and made our lines in time to fall in with the train; another "hair-length" escape.

The next day after we got those turkeys from under General John Morgan's nose, a brother of mine showed

up in camp looking for me. He had a parole from John Morgan and was headed for Camp Chase, Ohio, for exchange.

He was in a scouting party from the 2nd Minnesota, and when captured in the woods near Franklin was taken to Morgan's headquarters. He had a very sociable visit with the General, cracked jokes, told stories, and was treated to a bountiful dinner. John then cautioned him and his comrades (four in number) not to be caught again until properly exchanged, for that would be sure death and no mercy, and then bade them good-bye and sent them under guard to the Union lines. Yes, there were worse men in the Rebel army than this same John Morgan.

I had not seen this brother for many years. We slept—?— no, we lay and talked together all night on our two blankets, and our heads pillowed on the same block of wood.—[Experience of Daniel S. Mevis, Co. D, 14th Mich. Vol. Inft., December, 1862]

CHERRIES

Contributed by Edwin R. Havens

Then came the day we met the "Johnnies" for the first time! This was at Hanover, Pennsylvania, and here again I had an experience proving my ignorance of warfare.

Two companies of my regiment, mine being one of them, were sent on skirmish line to fight on foot. When cavalry fought on foot, the first three men in a set of fours dismounted, the fourth one holding the four horses. I, being the sergeant commanding the

left squad of my company, was told to stay with the men holding the horses. We were in an open field and across another small field directly in front of where we stood was our line of skirmishers, and only a little way from them was the line of "Johnnies," and bullets came over among us. I suggested to the Lieutenant commanding the line of men and horses that they be taken a little way back behind an orchard where they would not be so directly exposed to the fire from the front and was told to lead them back. While performing this duty I saw a cherry tree loaded with luscious, ripe cherries and having quite a cherry appetite I came back, and throwing my reins over a lower limb climbed up in the tree and settled down to enjoying a meal of cherries. It was a delightful position. I could plainly see the opposing lines of skirmishers and the whole field of battle. After eating away for a while I heard a peculiar "swish" through the leaves of the tree in which I was sitting, and thought, "That bird must be in a hurry." Soon a similar sound sang through the leaves and branches on the other side of me, and I still thought of nothing but birds in flight; but a third "something" struck the body, or a limb, of the tree not far from my head, and I realized that some "Johnnie" was using me for a target. I left that tree.

I imagine that my departure was hastily and none too gracefully performed; in fact, I think that the fellow who fired those shots, if he saw me leave that tree and orchard, must have laughed every time he thought of it during the rest of his life.—[Sergt. Co. A, and Lieut. Co. I, 7th Mich. Vol. Cav. Experience on June 29, 1863. Courtesy Miss Edna Havens and Miss Gertrude E. Mevis]

BORGESS HOSPITAL AT KALAMAZOO

By Rt. Rev. Mgr. Frank A. O'Brien, LL. D.
Kalamazoo

THE story of the beginnings of a great Hospital may be of interest. It has been very frequently stated that hospitals are not a success, especially when they are erected for a limited territory. This was the cry years ago. Communities would answer, we have tried the experiment and have found it a failure. Such statements inspired the following story.

About thirty years ago there was nothing like a hospital at Kalamazoo. The State Fair held its annual gathering there and during that period the population was doubled. There were fewer accidents than might be expected that came under the public notice. The County Poor House was the hospital, and the stranger "within its gates" having no relatives or friends in that locality, no matter how willing to pay, was cared for at the County Alms House. The jail was used for emergency cases. At this particular period when a large number of the business places of the town were saloons, not infrequently a "plain drunk" was carried to the jail, and there afforded time to sober up, amid squalid surroundings. On one of the State Fair days, a visitor was found in a stupor, and escorted to the jail and reported as "dead drunk." A few hours afterwards the turnkey told the sheriff that he imagined something greater than drunkenness affected the last comer. A physician was called, who pronounced him dangerously ill. They searched for identification but failed. A rosary in his pocket proclaimed him a Catholic, and a priest was sent for. There was no

time to be wasted; he was removed from the cell to the corridor. Amid the filth, which one can imagine where there were a lot of drunkards, mingled with curses and coarse jests and laughter of the prisoners, the last rites of the Church were administered. Within an hour he surrendered his soul to his Maker. Then and there, that priest resolved, God willing, Kalamazoo should have a hospital. It was discovered the following morning that the stranger was from a very respectable family who were bowed down in sorrow when it was learned that their promising son on whom they had counted much, had died in jail. It is said the mother never recovered from the shock, and died broken-hearted.

As a result of that evening's experience, work in earnest began in the interest of establishing a hospital. An effort was put forth to raise the money but failed. The word "hospital" was a bugbear to many. Others thought, we got along well enough without it for many years, why not longer. The story of that evening was told to Bishop Borgess on one of his visits, and the conversation ended with the needs of the city and parish, and the priest said, "If we only had a backer who would give us several thousand dollars, we would certainly begin the good work so sorely needed. The following Christmas he received a note from the good Bishop, enclosing a check for five thousand dollars, which read as follows:

"I am sending you five thousand dollars, which is the last payment on my mother's property which was disposed of at Cincinnati. I think you can use it to advantage. However, I leave it to your pleasure, do whatever you desire with it. I was touched with your description of the death of the young man in the jail, who, on account of the lack of a place where he might

be taken, dealt such a crushing blow to his parents. If you feel that you want to use this sum for that purpose, do so, but do as you like. If you make up your mind to build a hospital, let me advise that you will be sorely tried with opposition. It will be worth the effort, but don't get discouraged with the many obstacles which will be placed in your way. Wishing you continued success in whatever you undertake, I cheerfully give you this gift as a memorial of my mother to be used as you see fit."

Encouraged in this way, the effort was to build a hospital, realizing what the Bishop said, that *it was a good thing.* The five thousand dollars received gave it such a start as never had been expected, bringing the great privilege of being able to state that in one year from that time a hospital was opened for the reception of patients. The work met with opposition. The cause went through a trying experience. Some of the citizens declared it would be an annoyance and continual demand on the public without being able to make good the result, etc. The remainder of the money necessary for the purchase of a site for the hospital was borrowed, a handsome lot secured, and the good Sisters of St. Joseph who had recently come to Michigan were given the property and since then it has been in their hands.

It was decided to call the institution Borgess Hospital as a tribute to the first large contributor to the cause.

It met with great opposition on every side. Some did not care for it because it was not under their management. Others were afraid that it would be an additional burden. The medical profession were divided, claiming it might make a division in their ranks. The charitable thought they were taxed

heavily enough and the uncharitable felt it would be another annoyance, which they detested. In addition to the other objections, the Common Council and the Board of Supervisors were not interested. The number of contributors was limited, and the eyes of the entire community were turned toward "the white elephant" as it was called. Despite the many objections and obstacles, the good Sisters labored unceasingly without any prospect of earthly reward. During the first years they had very few patients and from the earnings and donations scarcely a livlihood. For several years the story might be summed up in the same words, but there came a rift in the clouds and success was the reward of the earnest care and attention of their patrons who now began to realize what a benefit and blessing it was to the community. After a few years the debt was wiped out. Then came additions and improvements until the present splendid group of buildings are the result, while the comforts and blessings afforded suffering humanity were more of a reward to the Sisters than any earthly recompense.

Thirty years ago, you might sum up their report as blank for cash on hand, and a large deficit, as debt, the number of patients fifteen, and the number of poor cared for without cost to the city, six. At the close of last year a wonderful story is it to relate that the number of patients were two thousand nine hundred fifty-four, the number of poor cared for gratis eighty-five, the property of great value, and the debt but nominal. The beautiful site which was recently secured for the additional buildings shows that immense growth, and prosperity, was the result of the earnest faithful band of women who silently work for the greater honor and glory of God, and for their neighbors' welfare.

THE CENTRAL MICHIGAN NORMAL SCHOOL AT MT. PLEASANT

By Claude S. Larzelere, M. A.
(Department of History and Civics)

One afternoon in October, 1891, four of the leading citizens of Mt. Pleasant sat in an office at the foot of a street in that city now called Normal Avenue. One of them looking up the street to a grove nearly a mile away said, "A normal school would look well out there." This was the beginning of the Central Michigan Normal School.

Nothing further of importance was done in the matter until the next spring, when a gentleman interested in the project obtained an option upon sixty acres of land on the south side of the city for $6,000. This option, however, was allowed to lapse.

In the meantime the subject had been agitated and discussed, and in May, 1892, the Mt. Pleasant Improvement Company was formed, primarily for the purpose of starting a normal school. The capital stock was $10,000, divided into 400 shares of $25 each. Ten per cent of the capital was paid in and later assessments brought the amount up to forty per cent.

An attempt was now made to get the sixty-acre tract which was thought to be desirable for a site, but the price had now jumped to $12,000. The company finally secured fifty-two acres for $8,000. About ten acres were reserved for a campus and the remainder divided into two hundred and twenty-four city lots and offered for sale at $110 each, the purchaser to be assigned his lot by chance. By hard work on the part of several of the business men public spirit was

aroused, many residents of the city and surrounding country were prevailed upon to make purchases, and most of the lots were sold.

The company now began to look about for a man to put at the head of the proposed school. Professor C. F. R. Bellows, who had been at the head of the department of mathematics in the State Normal School at Ypsilanti for many years and one of the best known teachers of the State, had recently left that institution and was conducting a summer school at Marquette. Mr. Michael Devereaux, one of the men who was pushing the matter, being a former student at the Ypsilanti Normal, was sent to Marquette to confer with him. This led to a contract with Professor Bellows, according to which he was to become principal of the new school and surveyor for the Improvement Company at a salary of $2,000.

Mr. Stratton D. Brooks, now president of the University of Oklahoma, was engaged as vice-principal. The contract made with him shows the precarious condition of the finances of the enterprise. He was to receive $1,200 for a year of twelve months. He was to be paid $800 "and wait for $400 till the school furnishes the same by its successful income, or till the same shall be asumed by the State of Michigan or otherwise disposed of by said company." One-half of the $800 was to be paid in monthly installments and the balance of $400 was to be paid at the end of the year, "if the school shall have been a financial success and have such $400 in its treasury after payment of other claims, and if not, then the same shall be paid when such money is on hand or when the company shall dispose of its school property."

Mrs. Lydia E. Kniss, for several years a teacher in

the Normal at Ypsilanti, was secured as preceptress.

The new school opened in September, 1892, in rooms in a business block, under the name of the "Central Michigan Normal School and Business Institute." According to the first printed announcement its faculty numbered eight and there were to be five departments,—normal, academical, commercial, industrial, music and art. During the first year there were 42 students enrolled in the normal department, 46 in the commercial, and 35 in the night school—123 in all.

In the meantime a contract had been let for a building to cost $9,980. This building, which after much remodeling and building over now constitutes the central part of the present main building, was commenced in October, 1892, and finished the next summer.

From the beginning of the movement to establish the school, there was present in the minds of the promoters the purpose to get the Legislature to take it over and make it a State institution. For this purpose Mr. S. W. Hopkins, an attorney of Mt. Pleasant and the man who had first suggested the idea of the school, was sent to the State Senate for the session of 1893. Mr. Hopkins worked hard and nearly succeeded in accomplishing his purpose, but the idea that more than one normal school was needed in the State had not yet become prevalent and the attempt to create a second one met with strong opposition. The citizens of Mt. Pleasant were not to be discouraged however by the first failure. They had already secured a United States Government Indian School and were determined to have a State Normal and they continued to support the new institution largely by private subscriptions.

Mr. Robert Brown was sent as representative from

Isabella County to the Legislature for the session of 1895. Mr. E. O. Shaw, of Newaygo, was Senator from the district in which the school is situated. These gentlemen worked unceasingly to get the Legislature to make the school a State institution. As at the previous session, a committee was induced to visit Mt. Pleasant and look over the situation. At last, just at the close of the session, their efforts were successful. The opposition was especially strong in the House. By strenuous efforts and by trading with other members having bills which they desired to get through, Mr. Brown secured a bare majority. The credit for making the school a State institution is largely due to him. Governor Rich, however, was not disposed to sign the bill and it required a special trip by Senator Shaw from his home in Newaygo to Lansing after the Legislature had adjourned, and much persuasion on his part, to get the Governor to affix his signature to the measure on the last day allowed by law for it to be signed, June 3, 1895.

The Act provided that "A normal school for the preparation and training of persons for teaching in the rural district schools, and the primary departments of the graded schools of the State, to be known as 'Central Michigan Normal School,' be established and continued at the city of Mount Pleasant," on condition that the campus of about ten acres with the building and contents be donated to the State Board of Education, the school being put under the control of that Board.

The Legislature however failed to make any appropriation for its support and the citizens of Mt. Pleasant continued to go down into their pockets and supply the necessary funds until the Legislature met in

January, 1897, when an emergency appropriation was made. Much time and money were spent by many residents of the city in order to get the institution established and to keep it running. There was no considerable wealth among them and the burden was especially heavy as it came during the hard times following the panic of 1893.

Principal Bellows continued at the head of the school until the summer of 1896 when failing health compelled him to retire and Mr. Charles McKenny was made principal. Mr. McKenny had occupied the chair of history in Olivet College. He was an excellent choice for the work of building up the school. He is a man energetic, scholarly, enthusiastic, sympathetic, and full of a magetism that attracts and holds young and old.

The Legislature at its session of 1897 made an appropriation of $12,000 for current expenses for each of the years 1897 and 1898 and $5,000 for improvements to the building, and passed an Act providing "that the State Board of Education shall maintain substantial uniformity and reciprocity in the courses of study of the Central Michigan Normal School and with any related courses which may be offered at the State Normal School at Ypsilanti, so that transfer of students from one school to another shall not lead to loss of standing for similar courses."

The Act further provided for two courses of study at the Central Normal,—a rural school course, "containing the branches of instruction required by law for a third grade county certificate, and such work in the science and art of teaching" as the State Board might require. This led to a certificate good for two years, "authorizing the holder to teach in any district

school of this State employing not more than one teacher." The certificate might be renewed for two years after a successful teaching experience by the holder. A graded school course was also to be given "containing the branches of instruction required for a first grade county certificate, and such additional work in the science and art of teaching" as the State Board should determine. At the end of this course a certificate was granted for three years, valid through the State. This might be renewed for three years after successful experience in teaching. The same Act empowered the State Board to change the name of the Ypsilanti school to "Michigan State Normal College."

The establishment of a second Normal was strongly opposed by citizens of Ypsilanti and some members of the faculty of the Normal School at that place. After the Mt. Pleasant school was taken over by the Legislature that opposition was continued in the form of attempts to keep that school in a subordinate position by restricting its courses of study and the certificates which it could grant. It was felt that another Normal would limit the attendance and lessen the importance of the older institution. This opposition died out when it was found that the new school did not diminish the attendance at Ypsilanti and that the greatest growth and prosperity of the Normal College came after there had been not only a second Normal but two others established in the State.

Mr. McKenny continued as principal until the spring of 1900 when he was called to the presidency of the Wisconsin Normal School at Milwaukee. The school had prospered under his administration, having grown in size of faculty, attendance, equipment and

prestige. The faculty then numbered twenty-five. The total enrollment the first year under State control was 84, the second year 196; the third year 314; the fourth year 410; and when Mr. McKenny left it was nearly 500.

Mr. Charles T. Grawn, who as superintendent of the schools of Traverse City had established a reputation as one of the leading school men of the State, was chosen to succeed Mr. McKenny, and the wisdom of the board is shown by his successful administration and the continuous development and improvement of the school in many lines.

The Legislature in 1899 appropriated $25,000 to defray the current expenses of the school for each of the fiscal years ending in June, 1900 and 1901. An additional sum of $43,000 was appropriated for adding a wing to the building and for fixing over the original structure. This work was completed in the fall of 1900.

In 1901 the Legislature appropriated $35,000 for the support of the school for each of the following years, $32,000 for the erection of a training school building and $18,000 for another wing to the main building. These additions were completed in the following year.

In 1903 the appropriation for current expenses for each of the following years was $55,560 and for special purposes $11,000, including $5,000 for additional land.

Two years later the amount for maintenance was $66,565 for each year of the biennial period ending June 30, 1907. A special appropriation of $25,000 was made for a heating and lighting plant and $5,000 for land.

Since 1905 the appropriations for each biennial period have run as follows:

1907–1909 current expenses, $149,180; special purposes, including new buildings, $57,300
1909–1911 current expenses, 150,000; special purposes, including new buildings, 14,000
1911–1913 current expenses, 160,000; special purposes, including new buildings, 6,500
1913–1915 current expenses, 180,000; special purposes, including new buildings, 101,000
1915–1917 current expenses, 190,000; special purposes, including new buildings, 26,500
1917–1919 current expenses, 206,000; special purposes, including new buildings, 8,650

By an Act of the Legislature in 1903 the State Board of Education was empowered to prescribe such courses of study and grant such certificates as it saw fit, provided that in the Central and Western Normals there always be maintained a department for the training of teachers for rural schools. Under this authority the Board authorized the Central Normal to grant like certificates.

Since Mr. Grawn became principal in 1900 the progress of the school has been exceedingly gratifying. The campus has been increased from ten acres to thirty-two acres by appropriations made by the Legislature and donations by the city of Mt. Pleasant. The main building has been enlarged to three times its original capacity and a training school, a heating and lighting plant, a fine gymnasium and a large up-to-date science building have been erected. The grounds have been greatly improved. The library has increased from 3000 volumes to 20,000 volumes and the laboratories in a similar proportion. The growth in equipment, furniture, apparatus, pictures and statuary has

been no less marked. The faculty now numbers about forty.

It was stated in an early catalog of the school, "A university, eleven colleges, and a normal college offer courses which prepare teachers for the high schools of the State, but no institution in Michigan except the Central Normal has for its sole object the training of teachers for the grades and for the rural schools." This was said with truth at that time. Conditions have changed much since then. The Normal College now sends out hundreds into the grades as well as into the high schools. Two more State Normals have been established and fifty county training classes are preparing teachers for rural schools. While the Central Normal is sending out many young men as superintendent and principals and many of its young ladies who show especial ability and fitness into high school positions, its main purpose has not changed. Its principal work is in fitting young people to teach in the grades of city and village schools and in rural schools.

At present there are offered the following courses: a four years' course leading to the degree of A. B.; a life certificate course consisting of certain required professional work in psychology, pedagogy, history of education, practice teaching, and methods, and considerable academic work to be elected from a large range of subjects,—this is a two years' course for high school graduates and a four years' course for pupils who have finished a tenth grade; a limited certificate course requiring one year for its completion by a high school graduate and consisting almost entirely of required professional work,—this leads to a certificate entitling the holder to teach in the grades for three years; rural school courses designed to prepare teachers

for the country schools. There are also courses for kindergartners, and in agriculture, physical training, music, drawing, manual training and domestic science, fitting teachers for special work in those lines in public schools.

The faculty is composed of men and women of good scholarship and teaching ability, nearly all of whom besides being specialists in their respective lines have had considerable experience in public school work. They are graduates mostly of Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, Michigan and other universities. Several have traveled and studied abroad.

A monthly publication, *The Central Normal Bulletin*, is maintained by the school under the management of a committee of the faculty and serves the threefold purpose of being a medium for the publication of educational articles by members of the faculty, a record of school news and a means of keeping the school and its graduates in touch with each other.

The president and faculty of the school believe in an all-round development for teachers. Physical training is required and athletics are encouraged. The athletic spirit of the school is excellent and strong teams in football, basketball, tennis and baseball have been maintained. The management of all athletic contests is in the hands of a committee of the faculty.

The musical life of the school is also of a high order. Besides the various classes in music and opportunities for individual training, a large chorus gives an excellent drill in choral work and furnishes music for concerts during the year. Eminent soloists from the larger cities of the country assist in rendering the great musical masterpieces. A lecture and music course

brings many prominent people and high-class entertainers before the students. The Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., organized among the students, together with the churches of the city, minister to the religious needs. A healthful social life exists in the school. Frequent social functions such as receptions and parties are given by faculty or students in the Normal buildings and students are often entertained at the homes of faculty members. The school has a reputation for the cordial relations and closeness of touch between faculty and students. All social affairs are under the management of a faculty committee.

The greatly increased demand for trained teachers is shown by the fact that calls for graduates of the Central Normal in all courses far exceed the supply. Graduates from the life certificate course easily find positions in some of the largest cities of the State, while those finishing the limited and rural school courses are placed in the best village and district schools at the highest salaries. Graduates prepared to teach special subjects are in great demand.

After eighteen years of faithful service and feeling that he had earned a rest, President Grawn handed his resignation to the State Board of Education to take effect April 1, 1918. During the time that he was at the head of the school he signed the diplomas and certificates of thousands of young people to whom he endeared himself and who look upon him as a father.

Mr. Grawn's successor is Mr. E. C. Warriner, for many years superintendent of the schools of Saginaw and one of the leading educators of the State. Under his administration the Central Michigan Normal School promises to continue its successful career and

increase its usefulness in the educational work of the State.

It is believed that the Central Normal is doing much for the public schools of the State. It endeavors to be one of the leaders in educational progress in Michigan and at the same time keep in close touch with the schools. While it is always ready to advance, it endeavors not to chase fads or ride hobbies, and while it is always anxious to raise its requirements and strengthen its courses, it recognizes that to do so too rapidly would mean a smaller number of trained teachers as its product and a smaller service to the schools of the State.

DAN H. BALL: THE PIONEER LAWYER OF MARQUETTE, THE NESTOR OF THE MICHIGAN BAR, A REVIEW OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER*

By George Williams Bates
Detroit

> "Mr. Ball was conceded to be the leader of the Upper Peninsula bar and one of the most prominent members of the legal profession in Michigan . . . . In penning this sketch we give the life history of one of the most prominent and influential citizens of Michigan, who has spent about his entire life within the borders of this state. . . . . His success has been most gratifying and is sure evidence of his skill and ability. Rapidly, he worked his way upwards until he commanded a most extensive business and was numbered among the foremost members of the Bar in the state. He had been offered many positions of trust but he could not be induced to abandon his chosen profession and continued to give the best years of his life to its varying demands, in which he realized its highest rewards as a lawyer of great fidelity, learning and trust."
> —*The Northern Peninsula of Michigan, Memorial Volume.*

The city of Marquette, Michigan was the home town of our distinguished friend, the late Dan H. Ball. The settlement of Marquette dates from 1845 in which year the real value of the rich veins of iron deposits in the vicinity were recognized and the lands located for mining purposes. The first iron dock was built in 1854 and the first railroad completed to the mines in 1857. At that time the city of Marquette—so-called from the name of the famous Jesuit missionary,

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* Read at the Marquette Meeting, of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Aug. 21, 1918.

Father Marquette, who first made that region known to the civilized world—was but a settlement in the wilderness. Peter White, one of the earliest and oldest pioneers of Marquette, says that in 1851-1853 Marquette consisted of "a few houses, a stumpy road winding along the lake shore, a forge which burnt up after impoverishing its first owners, a trail westward just passable for wagons, leading to another forge (still more unfortunate in that it did not burn up), and to the undeveloped iron hills beyond; and a few hundred people uncertain of the future. They had fallen into the march of the century and were building better than they knew."[1]

From 1849 to 1854 Marquette County was one of the isolated places that the Government did not think worth while to provide with winter mail facilities. There were intervals of from three to four months at a time when no mail, letter or paper of any kind was received by anyone in the country. Then, when mail did arrive, all work was suspended. When the newspapers had been read they would be passed on until they were worn to shreds and original ownership forgotten. Peter White was postmaster at this time. Even in later years when the Government did provide for the mail, there would always be certain months when transportation would be impossible, owing to the depth and softness of the snow, during March, April and sometimes during the first half of May. But, he says, there were better times in store for the original inhabitants of Marquette—a ship canal at the Sault and a railroad to the iron mills were in the near future. The realization of a ship canal at the

1. Peter White.—*Recollections of Early Marquette*, in the *Peter White Papers*: *Burton Historical Collection*, Public Library, Detroit.

Sault transferred the dream of a railroad from here to the iron hills into a certainty.[2]

THE SAULT STE. MARIE CANAL

The great Sault Ste. Marie canal was completed at an expense of $875,000, and the west-bound steamer Illinois was the first boat to be locked through in June, 1855. At the time of their completion the locks were the largest in the world. The canal was built on the outskirts of civilization; the laborers were immigrants sent in gangs from New York City, and the nearest telegraph station was Detroit. The work was done with the mercury often thirty-five degrees below zero and with only eight hours of daylight. The canal became the property of the Federal Government in

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2. Mr. Peter White, in the *White Papers*, has this to say of the early history of Marquette:
"From this time on (1847), up to the tenth day of July, we kept possession of all the iron-mountains known, west of Jackson. Perhaps a small part of the time was given to the clearing and denuding of the iron-hills of extraneous matter, preparing the way for the immense shipments that have since been made. The next day, we started early for the landing which we reached before one and found that Mr. Harlow had arrived with good mechanics, fresh laborers, lots of money, and perhaps what was better than all the rest, we had a glimpse of female faces. Then we commenced clearing for the present site of the city of Marquette, although we called it Worcester, in honor of Mr. Harlow's native city in Massachusetts. We began by chopping down the trees and building just south of the most southerly of the present railroad piers. We cut the trees and threw them bodily over the bank onto the lake shore. Then we began the construction of a dock which we thought would stand like the ancient pyramids. While we had made every effort to build this dock or pier as strong as possible, our chagrin may be imagined when on arising the next morning, we found that a gentle, noisless sea had come during the night and wafted our dock to parts unknown. It was a long time before another dock was built. The propellors would come to anchor sometimes as far as two miles from shore, and the freight and passengers were landed in small boats. Cattle and horses were pushed overboard and made to swim ashore. The boiler for the Marquette forge was heaved over-board three miles out and towed ashore. This was the first steam boiler brought into or put into use in Marquette County. Shortly afterwards, we built a log-house for sleeping-quarters for our party and when it was finished we named it "The Revere," after the then greatest hotel in Boston. This was the great Cholera Year, 1849. The Indians had everything packed and embarked in canoes within one hour and a half, to escape a malady that to them was more alarming than even the small-pox. Now the medical talent of our only physician, Dr. Rogers, was called into requisition. This Dr. Rogers was a brother to the famous Randolph Rogers, the great American sculptor. This same Dr. Rogers became a physician of great repute in Chicago. At this time there were not many boats of any kind on Lake Superior.

1881. It was improved by the construction of the Weitzel Lock at a cost of $2,180,000, which was afterwards replaced by the Poe Lock in 1886 with a length of eight hundred feet, a width of one hundred feet and a depth of twenty-one feet. The Hon. Theodore E. Burton, then chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors of the United States House of Representatives, thus speaks of this great public improvement: "Here," he says, "was a canal, the idea of which Henry Clay had scoffed at because the location was beyond the utmost boundaries of commerce,—if not in the moon."[3] Now its tonnage was twice that of the Suez Canal, and its cargoes were three times as great, every pound of which passed through American or Canadian locks without payment of toll. The tonnage passing through the canal equaled one-seventh of that carried by all the railroads of the country, at a cost of one-tenth of the railway charges. Today, after a half century, the commerce of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal has increased from fifteen thousand tons to more than thirty-six million tons. Instead of vessels

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"In the early part of November, Robert Graveraet and Peter Nottingham arrived with a large number of horses. These horses were to haul the iron to supply the forge that we expected would be completed and ready to make bloom-iron before the next spring. During that winter and spring the original iron-company had exhausted its capital and credit. The Marquette Company had entered upon the process of exhausting theirs. Their forge was burned early in 1853. These early developments in the Marquette Company were never stimulated or encouraged by any return upon any capital invested in any single instance until 1863. It was all a work of faith and perseverance founded upon intuitions that were correct and sound but which it took nearly twenty years to realize. Meanwhile, man after man, company after company, cast all they had into the gulf which time alone could fill. Those were days of hardship to the early settlers, * * * but, better times were in store for us,—a ship-canal at the Sault and a railroad to the iron-mills were in the near future. The realization of a ship-canal at the Sault transferred the dream of a railroad from here to the iron-hills into a certainty.

"For many years there lived here an old man who was editor and proprietor of the *Lake Superior Journal*, but he was a talented and brilliant writer,—Warren Isham. In an article in his paper one day he described Marquette with her immense sand plains on the south, sand and swamps on the north, rock-ribbed, barren mountains on the west and her unrivaled lake on the east, as 'an oasis in the great Sahara.'"

3. *History of Marquette County, Biographical Sketches*, p. 42.

carrying less than a thousand tons, the lakes had steamers handling eleven thousand tons. Half of the wheat crop of the United States during the great year of 1901 was carried by lake transportation; whereas in 1855 nearly three weeks were required to unload three hundred tons of iron ore, now ten thousand tons were unloaded, in four hours.[4]

THE IRON INTERESTS OF MARQUETTE COUNTY

The production of iron ore, charcoal and pig iron continued steadily to increase until in 1873 more than one-quarter of the iron produced in the United States was made from the ores of Marquette County. From 1856 to 1875 there were in actual operation in Marquette County over fifty-two mines and the total

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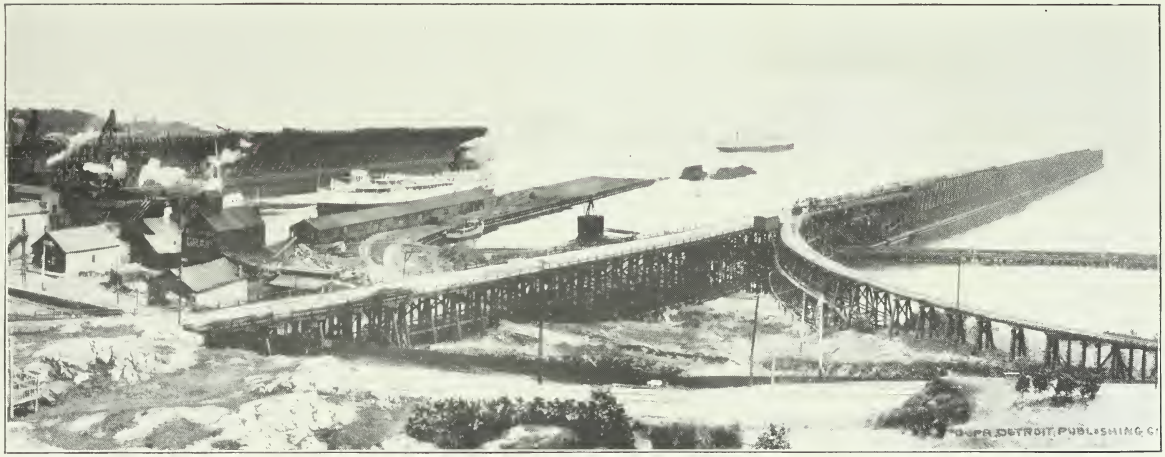
4. Moore's *History of Michigan*, I, 465. Mr. Moore has this to say of the first inception and the building of the canal:
"On January 2, 1837, Governor Stevens T. Mason recommended to the Michigan Legislature an appropriation for a ship-canal around the Falls of St. Mary, and that body took favorable action on March 27, the project being a part of the large scheme of internal improvements then entered upon. The State appropriated $25,000 for preliminary work and a like sum contingent upon a grant of land by Congress; Rix Robinson, as commissioner, contracted with James Smith and Urial Driggs of Buffalo for the construction of the canal. At the instance of Senator John Norval, the United States Senate agreed to a resolution inquiring as to the feasibility of such a canal. The State advanced to the contractors $5,000, but when Weeks began to work in May, 1839, he was met by the commandment at Fort Brady, Captain Johnson with a file of soldiers, who refused to allow any work to be done that would interfere with the mill-race on Government property. So the work was stopped. It was not until 1857 that Congress finally made the requisite grant of lands; and meanwhile the long-disputed question of internal development had been fought out in Congress.
"Congress in its grant gave to the State of Michigan 750,000 acres of land conditioned on a canal at least one hundred feet wide, with a depth of water of twelve feet; the locks were to be 60 feet wide and 250 feet long. Charles T. Harvey, the superintendent of construction, wheeled the first barrow of earth on June 4, 1853, and on June 18, 1855, the west-bound steamer Illinois was the first boat to be locked through.
"In twenty-two months, Mr. Harvey built the canal at a cost of $875,000, being within the estimates both as to time and expense. The work was done much more substantially than the contract called for. At the time of their completion, the locks were the largest in the world. The canal was built on the outskirts of civilization. The machinery for submarine excavation was invented on the spot, and all adjacent Canada was scoured on snowshoes by men in search of blacksmith's bellows for use in making the forgings. The blasting powder came from Connecticut and Delaware. The laborers were immigrants sent in gangs from New York City. The nearest telegraph station was at Detroit, 450 miles away, and much of the work was done in winter with the mercury often thirty-five degrees below zero, and with only eight hours of daylight"

amount of gross tons as the production of such mines during that time amounted to 8,619,519 tons. The shipments of pig iron from Lake Superior furnaces during 1875 amounted to 81,753 tons of the value of $2,248,264. The aggregate yield in gross tons of the mines and furnaces of this district during this period showed iron ore of 8,559,129 tons, pig iron of 9,160,224 tons, of the total value of $69,155,494.[5]

THE EARLY HISTORY OF DAN H. BALL

Mr. Ball, then a young man just from the University of Michigan, was attracted to that great prospect of nature, and in 1860 he decided to locate as a young lawyer and practice his profession in what was then a literal wilderness in the new world. He stayed and, as Horace Greely would say, "grew up with the country." He had thus the satisfaction of seeing his town grow until it became a city of over twelve thousand people, and became the center of the great iron interests of the State, known as "the Queen City of Lake Supperior," the county seat of Marquette County, and the metropolis of the mining interests of the Lake Superior iron region, picturesquely located on the south shore of Lake Superior, on an inlet known as Marquette Bay, 401 miles from Chicago and 450 miles by water from Detroit.[6] His reputation for wide legal learning and for sound legal judgment grew with the growth of the State in which he was located.. In time he came to be recognized as the leading authority in mining law, in which department of the law he

5. Historical Address of the Hon. H. B. Ely, of Marquette, in *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections*, VII., 166.
6. *Biographical Record of Leading Citizens of Houghton, Baraga and Marquette Counties, Michigan*, p. 332.



MARQUETTE ORE DOCKS

had acquired a large and lucrative practice, as the legal adviser and counselor of many of the great iron corporations of that section of the State; so that he came to be the leading man in all the affairs of his church and state and in all legal matters in that section of the State.[7]

Dan H. Ball was born in Sempronius, Cayuga County, New York, January 15, 1836, and died suddenly in Houghton, Michigan, February 21, 1918, in his eighty-third year. He was the son of James and Louise Ball. His father was born in Vermont and his mother in New York. His maternal grandfather served in the War of the Revolution and his paternal grandfather in the War of 1812. James Ball, his father, was one of the pioneers in New York State and resided there until 1836, when he removed to Washtenaw County, Michigan. He reclaimed a farm from the wilderness and resided there until his death in 1852. His wife survived him for forty years and died in 1892, in her eighty-seventh year, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Henry Lewis, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Mr. Ball was only one year old at the time of his father's removal to Michigan. His early education was obtained in the district schools and in the Wesleyan Seminary at Albion, Michigan. He then taught school for two years, spent one year in the Literary Department of the University of Michigan, commencing in the fall of 1856. The distinguished Dr. Henry P. Tappan was then president of the University. Then he resumed teaching, meanwhile studying law, and in the fall of 1860 he entered the Law Department of the University, and at the end of one year was admitted

7. *Men of Progress in Michigan*, p. 378.

to the bar. Judges Campbell and Cooley were then members of the Law Faculty.

THE PIONEER LAWYERS OF MARQUETTE

The first court held here was in 1852, and at that time there were no resident lawyers. The first resident attorney, says Mr. Ely, a pioneer of Marquette, was Mathew H. Maynard, who settled in Marquette in June, 1855 The next was Peter White, who was admitted to the bar in 1857, and next to him came Dan H. Ball.[8]

This was in June, 1861. Mr. Ball came to Marquette because of the death in the previous winter of his brother, James W. Ball, who had been engaged in business in that place. Mr. Ball closed up the mercantile business in the course of one year and then became actively interested in the *Lake Superior News* and the *Lake Superior Journal*, which eventually became the *Mining Journal.*

He remained in the newspaper business about two years, and in the fall of 1862 was appointed Registrar of the U. S. Land Office at Marquette. After the expiration of his term he was reappointed by President Lincoln and held the office until 1865. He then resumed the practice of law in Marquette and in September, 1866, removed to Houghton where he formed a partnership with Mr. James B. Ross. The partnership continued until the spring of 1868, when Mr. Ross left, leaving a large practice which he and Mr. Ball had worked up, the principal business being done with the copper companies among which was the famous

8. Historical Address of Hon. H. B. Ely, in *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections*, VII, 166.

DAN H. BALL
(At the age of about 30 years)

Calumet-Hecla almost from the time it was opened up.

In September, 1870, Mr. Ball took in as a partner Mr. Joseph H. Chandler who was just beginning the practice of the law. After getting things in shape in Houghton, Mr. Ball returned to Marquette, where for almost forty-eight years he was engaged in an extensive general practice and was identified with much important litigation as well as being an active counselor for important interests.

During this long period Mr. Ball was associated from time to time in partnership with a number of other lawyers. His first partner was the late Mr. M. H. Maynard, the first lawyer that ever practiced law in Marquette County, the firm name being Maynard & Ball. Mr. Ball continued his practice in both cities. His firm in Houghton was Ball & Chandler, and in Marquette the firm was Maynard & Ball. The Marquette practice becoming too large to admit of Mr. Ball's devoting his time elsewhere, he handed his Houghton practice over to Mr. Chandler and devoted his time to the business in Marquette. This firm of Maynard & Ball continued until 1873, when Mr. Maynard retired to engage in separate practice and was succeeded by Mr. Cyrenius P. Black, later United States District Attorney in Detroit,—the firm name being Ball & Black. In 1874 A. R. Crow, who afterwards practiced in Houghton, was admitted to the partnership. In 1875 the firm name was Ball, Black & Owen, by the admission to the firm of Mr. Ernest D. Owen, son of Robert Dale Owen of Indiana,—and in 1876–7–8, Ball & Owen. From 1879 to 1882 Mr. Ball practiced alone. In 1882 he formed a partnership with the late J. D. Hanscom, which was continued until 1893 when the firm was

dissolved. Mr. Ball then formed, under the name of Ball & Ball, a partnership with his eldest son, James Everett Ball, which continued until the death of its junior member in 1914. Since 1914 the firm name has been Ball & Garvin, the junior member being Leon E. Garvin, formerly of Ontonagon.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF MR. BALL'S PRACTICE

Mr. Ball had a general practice and represented many large iron corporations and copper corporations and also large landed interests and parties by whom mines were leased to the operating companies. The firm of Ball & Stone of Houghton represented the Copper Range Company which controls several of the leading copper mines in Houghton County. The particular subjects of litigation in which he was largely engaged covered nearly all of the important interests which the growth of the Lake Superior iron region created. He was personally or the firms of which he was a member were directly connected with the varied and multiple interests in nearly every form of business enterprise, which a new country like the Lake Superior region in general and the iron industries of Marquette County in particular created.[9]

Mr. Ball was then a young lawyer and as time progressed he became the representative lawyer of

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9. *The Cyclopedia of Michigan, Historical and Biographical*, 1901, p. 72, makes this statement as to Mr. Ball's business:
"From 1879 he continued single-handed until 1883 when the firm of Ball & Hanscom was inaugurated by the admission of Mr. J. D. Hanscom, and these gentlemen enjoyed one of the largest practices in the Upper Peninsula. Mr. Ball was for a time attorney of the Detroit, Mackinaw & Marquette Railroad until that road was sold out, and he and Mr. Hanscom were attorneys for The Michigan Land & Iron Company, Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway & Iron Company, and Newport & Lake Superior Land Company. Mr. Ball, as part owner, also refused a position in the directory of the Iron Duke Mine and the Walpool Iron Company, and is a shareholder in several other mines."

his section of the State and gave form and direction to the many interests which were confided to his care. It is said if the object of the law is the administration of justice, then the priests who serve in the temple are the lawyers. The purpose of every legal investigation is the ascertainment of the truth, not of abstract and irrelevant truth, but of the truth of the instant case. To that end pleadings are necessary, so that an issue may be joined; so that something may be clearly affirmed upon the one side and denied upon the other; so that without a fair knowledge of the rules of pleading and evidence no lawyer can succeed at the bar, and justice itself cannot any more be administered without the proper procedure than it can without a fair and just substantive law; and that the most important thing for the lawyer to possess in order to discharge his simple every-day duty to his client, is common sense, the ability to see things as they are and not as he would like to see them. To have a sense of legal perspective and the skill to present effectively the strong points in his case and to conceal the weak ones. To have that common honesty which prevents one not only from trying to fool another but from fooling himself. No matter how acute the intelligence or how well prepared one may be in the learning of the schools, there comes to the lawyer no practical success without an infinite care of details and the accurate knowledge of the facts. If you are right on facts, the law will take care of itself. If to the knowledge of the law is added human sympathy, clear statement and true eloquence, the lawyer becomes the strongest single force in human affairs.[10]

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10. Address of Peter W. Meldrim, in *Proceedings of the American Bar Association*, XL, 313.

The extent and variety of cases in which Mr. Ball was interested both in the courts below and in the Supreme Court of this State, and in the Supreme Court of the United States, bear witness to the fact that he was possessed not only of a wide and varied practice, but that such practice concerned matters of the highest importance to his section of the State.

CASES INVOLVING MINING INTERESTS AND MATTERS

A review of some of his principal cases may be of interest in shedding light on the legal character of Mr. Ball's practice and show to what extent he was concerned in the common affairs of the every-day life of the people. This practice may be divided into two classes of cases:

In the *first* place, those cases which concern mineral lands, and *those* that involve title to government lands.

In the *first* class may be mentioned, the following:

In *Edwards v. Allouez Mining Company*[11], it appeared that parties, without color or claim of right, were keeping up a continuous series of invasions upon complainant's freehold by using a running stream as a means of transporting sand upon his bottom land in quantities sufficient to bury it. The same course of conduct defiles and silts up the stream, rendering it useless to him for any purpose of business or convenience. It is equivalent in mischief to taking away or destroying his property in the land and his rights in the water. The principle was of the highest importance in the use of landed properties in the State. Mr. Ball, who brought the case, insisted that one's rights of private

11. 38 *Mich.*, 46.

property could not be taken away or destroyed by using running streams to transport sand upon his bottom land in quantities sufficient to bury it; and that if this principle was not maintained, then the enjoyment of private property in many cases would be worthless.

The *Quincy Mining Company v. Kitts*[12] was also an important suit which was brought by Mr. Ball as representing the plaintiff, Kitts, to recover damages for injury alleged to have been suffered by himself while in the company's employ as a miner.

Mr. Ball made the claim that an employer who entrusts to agents the execution of duties which he personally owes to his employees, is as responsible for the negligence of such agents in executing such duties, as for the negligence of any of his agents in the execution of the duties which he owes to others than employees. This principal was affirmed in the case and is now the law of thi State. A master cannot, by delegating authority to another, relieve himself of the duty of exercising due care in the employment and retention of competent servants; and if he does delegate it to a general manager, foreman or superintendent, he remains responsible. This affirmed one of the most important principles as affecting the relations between master and servant.

In *Iron Cliffs Company v. Buhl*[13], Mr. Ball contended that where ore is piled at the point of delivery in a mass larger than was contracted for, and nothing remains but to take the contract quanity from the pile, this is a sufficient delivery. The principle is of the greatest consequence in the law of sales, to the effect that the

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12. 42 *Mich.*, 34.
13. 42 *Mich.*, 86.

title to a quantity of merchandise taken from the mass does not pass unless there has been a sale of a definite quantity out of an ascertained mass of uniform quality and value.

In *Collins v. Jackson*[14], Ball and Hanscom appeared and claimed that the ordinary seller's talk, honestly meant, will not support an action for fraudulent representation. This was affirmed by the Court and is the law of this State; that is, that a vendor's honestly expressed but incorrect opinion of the amount, quality and value of the goods he sells will not support an action for fraudulent representations, if the purchaser sees or knows the property, or has opportunities to know it.

In *Pierce v. Pierce*[15], the rights of those jointly interested in the ownership of mining property was also determined.

In this case, it appeared where one who had taken a lease of certain mining property claimed the exclusive control of the leased property, while his brothers insisted that as it had been explored and worked at joint expense and the accounts of the two mines had been commingled, it must be considered as held in trust for all. A bill was filed in this case against the brother to enforce such a trust. It was *held*, that the bill would not lie, thus sustaining the position taken by Ball & Hanscom, who appeared for the defendant, that business associates, after letting one of their number expend money upon a venture until they can see whether it is going to pay, cannot then claim the benefit of it.

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14. 54 *Mich.*, 186.
15. 55 *Mich.*, 629.

In *Pellow v. Arctic Iron Co.*[16], where a bill was filed by Ball & Ball to quiet title by Samuel Mitchell and others against the Arctic Iron Company and others, it was *held*, that one of two tenants in common of minerals underlying the land may not, without the consent or ratification of his cotenant, convey the interest which he owns in a portion of the entire estate to third parties; so as to create a new and valid tenancy in common. Thus, a cotenant may sell or convey the whole or any aliquot part of his undivided interest in the whole property, but he cannot without the consent of the other, convey an undivided interest in any specific parcel of the common holding, nor can he without such consent or subsequent ratification by his cotenant, convey by metes and bounds a specific parcel of the common estate and thus sever it so as to bind the nongranting cotenant. This principle was of the greatest consequence in determining the right of the cotenant to convey an undivided interest in any specific parcel in the common holding by an attempt to create an estate in some specific parcel of the common estate and thus sever it so as to bind the nongranting cotenant.

In *Pittsburgh & Lake Angeline Iron Co. v. Lake Superior Iron Co.*[17], a bill was filed for an equitable division of the territory formerly covered by the waters of Lake Angeline and for other relief. The theory of the bill was that the territory formerly covered by the waters of this lake should be divided among the shore owners in proportion to the amount of shore frontage owned by each; that such ownership extends to the center of the lake, to be equitably established by

16. 164 *Mich.*, 87.
17. 118 *Mich.*, 109.

the court; and that such territory should be partitioned by convergent lines drawn from the outside limits of each center. It was defended by Ball & Ball, who appeared for the Lake Superior Iron Company and claimed that no such rule existed in this state. It was *held*, that no fixed rule ever has been or ever can be laid down for the division of the territory covered by these inland lakes with their irregular shores. Each case must depend upon its own peculiar circumstances and facts, and as reasonable a division arrived at as possible. Thus, this case practically decided the riparian rights on inland lakes in this State.

In *Ball v. Ridge Copper Company*[18], a petition for a writ of assistance was filed to get possession of certain property sold by the State for taxes, and the claim was made by the original owner that the act under which the land was sold for taxes was unconstitutional and void. This petition was filed to determine the question. Mr. Ball appeared for the petitioner. It was *held*, that the Tax Law of 1893 was not unconstitutional, as depriving persons of their property without due process of law, in that it makes no provision for personal service of notice upon the delinquent taxpayer of the proceeding for the sale of his land, but on the contrary, provides that notice by publication shall be equivalent to personal service. This case practically determined the validity of the Tax Law of 1893.

In *Banfield v. Chapin*, a bill was filed by Mr. Ball which involved the title to the Chapin mine at Iron Mountain, but it was settled before coming to trial.

F. W. Denton and Humphrey W. Chadbourne v. Ahmeek Mining Company and Calumet & Hecla Mining Company was a case, where a bill was filed

18. 118 *Mich.*, 7.

DAN H. BALL
(At the age of about 50 years)

to enjoin the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company from carrying on its proposed consolidation of twelve of the Michigan copper mining companies in which it owned stock. The case resulted in the abandoment of the consolidation, and it never reached the Supreme Court of Michigan. There was another similar case in the Federal Court of John F. Jackson against the same defendants, which was also dropped when the plan was aband ned.

The Copper Range Company v. Township of Adams is a case in which Mr. Ball originally appeared, now on appeal to the Supreme Court of Michigan, involving the legality of the method pursued by the Supervisors of Houghton County in assessing properties of mining companies for taxation.

Donahue v. Vosper[19] was the last case argued by Mr. Ball.

In this case, a bill was filed to quiet title to an undivided one-quarter interest in certain mining lands, which, it was the claim of the defendant Vosper, was conveyed to him by warranty deed from the complainant's grantor. This deed antedated the quit-claim deed given to the complainant by his grantor. It appeared that the complainant's predecessor in title entered his claim to similar lands in the Upper Peninsula which were a part of the federal grant for railroad construction enacted in 1866. Congress subsequently declared the forfeiture of all property so granted, excepting *bona fide* homestead claims supported by actual occupancy, also confirming the title in the Lake Superior Canal Company as to a portion. Some litigation arose between the Canal Company and the settlers, and the United States filed a bill in equity

19. 189 *Mich.*, 78.

against the company and the claimants whose rights were held to depend upon the *bona fides* of their homestead occupancy. In 1896, a decree was entered determining that the company that had succeeded to the rights and title of the canal company was vested with title, and that the complainants had no interest therein. The company's rights were quieted by a final decree of the court. The predecessor in title obtained a quit-claim of these corporate rights and conveyed the lands to the complainant. The defendant's rights were based on an alleged deed of one-quarter interest from the complainant who denied its execution. It was *held*, on appeal, that the evidence to impeach the deed was insufficient to satisfy the burden of proof in such cases, and that the usual presumption arising from the acknowledgment should prevail; also, that the complainant was estopped by his deed, with accompanying warranties, from asserting any claim upon the basis of interests secured thereafter. The complainant's claim was that by the operation of the decree in the Keweenaw case, there was entirely cut off any right Vosper may have had in the land under the warranty deed previously executed by Donahue to him in 1894.

To this it was replied that if the title was completely in the canal company at the commencement of the suit and went from it to the Keweenaw Association before the decree, how could the decree carry any interest in the land from Donahue and Vosper to the Keweenaw Association? The effect of the decree was then to oust Vosper from the land of which he had the occupancy or constructive possession of an undivided one-quarter interest.

It appeared that Donahue continued in possession

of the undivided one-half of the claim from the time of his original entry until his quit-claim deed to the complainant, despite the alleged trespasses of the canal company and its successor, which possession would inure to Vosper under the warranty deed. The decree established a paramount title in a third party, and thus evicted Vosper from his title and possession in the undivided quarter. This is important because Vosper must show an eviction before he can claim the remedy to an estoppel by the covenant of warranty in his deed.

The Supreme Court of Michigan affirmed Vosper's right to these lands. This case afterwards went to the Supreme Court of the United States[20], where the decision of the Supreme Court of Michigan was affirmed. It was claimed that the decree in the State courts involved a construction of the decree in the United States Court and thus gave that court jurisdiction.

The contention in the State courts and it was so urged in the Supreme Court of the United States, was that the decree operated as a conveyance from Michael Donahue and Vosper to the Keweenaw Association and that by virtue of its effect as a conveyance, it released the interests that Vosper had in the lands through the warranty deed from Donahue to him; and that no interest remained in Vosper upon which an estoppel could rest. In other words, Vosper's interest by the decree passed to the Keweenaw Association and from the latter to Michael Donahue.

But it was *held*, that such was not the effect of the decree in the case of the *United States v. Keweenaw Association*, and it was declared that the effect of such

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20. 243 U. S. 59; 37 Sup. Ct. 350-61; 592. Aff'g 189 Mich., 78; 155 N. W. 409

decree gave to Vosper the right to invoke the remedy of an estoppel by the covenant of warranty in his deed, as against the subsequently acquired interest by Donahue under a deed made to him by the Keweenaw Association of the same interest in this property.[21]

CASES INVOLVING TITLE TO GOVERNMENT LANDS

The *other* class of cases in which Mr. Ball was largely interested involved the title to government lands.

The following are some of them:

In the *United States v. Keweenaw Association, Ltd.*, original and cross bill, the title to all of the so-called homesteaders on canal company lands was litigated.

There were other cases involved in the title to the lands of the Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway and Iron Company, which went to the Supreme Court of the United States and settled the rights of the canal company as against homesteaders upon the same lands. These were the *Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway & Iron Company v. Cunningham*,[22] the *Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway & Iron Company v. Hugh Finan*,[23]

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21. Mr. Justice McKenna, who delivered the opinion of the court in the case, in speaking on this subject, said: (p. 64)
"But this contention puts out of view a great deal that is material in the situation. The suit in which the decree was entered was one to determine whether the canal company or its grantee, the Keweenaw Association, had derived title from the United States or whether Donahue had. Vosper was made a party because of the deed from Donahue to him, and the decree quieted title in the Keweenaw Association. If it had gone no further, there would probably be no dispute about its effect, but it declared that it should stand and operate as a release and conveyance from the United States and each and every of the other of said defendants, of all right and title to said lands, and might be recorded as such in the record of the proper county.' Standing alone, these latter words might have the effect for which the plaintiff contended, but, they must be construed by what precedes them and by the nature of the suit.
"This demonstrates that the decree was but the clearing away of obstructions to the rights of the Keweenaw Association, and was not intended to convey to it any interests the defendants had, but left unaffected whatever obligations existed between themselves."

22. 155 U. S. 354; 39 Law. Ed. 183.
23. 155 U. S. 389; 39 Law. Ed. 193.

and the *Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway & Iron Company v. Michael Donahue.*[24]

Mr. Ball was the attorney of record in these cases, with whom was associated the Hon. John F. Dillon of New York.

In *Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway & Iron Company v. Cunningham*, suit was commenced by the plaintiff in the Circuit Court of the United States against Michael Donahue of Marquette, to recover the possession of a certain parcel of land. A verdict resulted, under instruction of the Court, in favor of the defendant, upon which verdict a judgment was rendered. To reverse that judgment this writ of error was brought. The plaintiff claimed title by virtue of certain land grants made by Congress to the State of Michigan to aid in the construction of a canal, and a confirmation by the Act of Congress of March 2, 1889. The defendant insisted that no title passed by the canal grants, because the land had theretofore been granted by Congress to aid in the construction of a railroad; that he entered upon the land with the view of preemption, and that his right of preemption was confirmed by the same Act of Congress of March 2, 1889.

It was *held*, that under the Act of 1889 forfeiting to the United States certain of the lands granted to the State of Michigan by the Act of 1856, the title of the canal company was confirmed as to the lands selected, and certified with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, in satisfaction of the canal grant, except lands on which there were *bona fide* preemption or homestead claims on May 1, 1888, arising or asserted by actual occupation which were confirmed; and a

24. 155 U. S. 386; 39 Law. Ed. 194.

party entering on land, known to him to be within the railroad grant to Michigan of June 3, 1856, but under the honest belief that *that* grant would shortly be resumed by Congress, and with a view of making a homestead of it, and of perfecting his title under the land laws of the United States when the forfeiture should be declared, and who was in occupation May 1, 1888, is within the Act of March 2, 1889, a *bona fide* claimant of a homestead. Thus, this affirmed in the Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway and Iron Company, the title to all these lands which had previously been granted to it for the construction of a ship canal, except as against such homesteaders as may have previously acquired preemption rights in the lands which they had so occupied.

The subsequent case of the *Lake Superior Canal Railway & Iron Company v. Hugh Finan*, and that against *Michael Donahue* involved the same question, so far as the right of the canal company in these lands was concerned, except that in the Finan case it did not appear that he had entered upon the tract in controversy until after the first of May, 1888. As to him, the judgment of the court below was reversed. In the Donahue case, it was held that where two lines of railroad are added by land grants made by the same act, and the lines of those roads cross or intersect, the lands within the place limits of both at the crossing or intersection do not pass to either company in preference to the other, no matter which line may be first located or road built, but pass in equal undivided moieties to each; under this rule and the decision in *Lake Superior Ship Canal Railway & Iron Company v. Cunningham*, the plaintiff and the defendant, as the

record stands, seem to be each the owner of the undivided half of the land in controversy.

There was also a large number of Michigan Land and Iron Company, Ltd., homestead cases, involving the title of various squatters on lands of the company, which were tried first in the United States Land Office at Marquette and then appealed to the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. Ball was also prominently identified with the Income Tax cases, as counsel for Mr. John M. Longyear, the Keweenaw Land Association, Ltd., the Newport Land Company, and the Michigan Iron & Land Company, Ltd., acting with Mr. John R. Van Derlip of Minneapolis, and also Mr. Nathaniel Wilson of Washington, D. C.

This review of the cases in which Mr. Ball was interested embraces only a portion of the cases in which he appeared; but they include some of the leading cases which were embraced in his practice. He was then the active force which practically settled many of the legal controversies which concerned the people of his section of the State. These were large questions involving important interests and which had the effect to settle and determine some, at least, of the questions which thus arose and which Mr. Ball litigated in these cases. This shows that Mr. Ball was the strong and influential member of the Bar, the leadership of which he gained by the prominent part taken by him in all these cases.

Besides, he had the highest ideals in his profession. He adhered rigorously to its pressing demands and thus allowed no one or any interests to induce him to withdraw from the most devoted adherence to it.

The distinguished Joseph H. Choate has well said

in an address on the "Lawyer:" "That he believed a man could be of greater service to his country and his race in the foremost ranks of the Bar than anywhere else. To be a priest and possibly a high-priest in the temple of justice, to serve at her altar and aid in her administration to maintain and defend those inalienable rights of life, liberty and property upon which the safety of society depends, to succor the oppressed and to defend the innocent, to maintain constitutional rights against all violations whether by the executive, by the legislature, by the resistless power of the press, or worst of all, by the ruthless rapacity of an unbridled majority, to rescue the scapegoat and restore him to his proper place in the world—all these seem to be to furnish a field worthy of any man's ambition." So it was with Mr. Ball, and the services rendered by him in the fifty years of successful practice is proof of the high ideals which animated his life and determined the character of that practice during the whole of this period. The highest rewards which come to the successful lawyer consist in what he contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of right and justice in the community in which he lived.

Mr. Ball had a reputation as a lawyer that extended far beyond the confines of the Upper Peninsula and of the State of Michigan. He became known many years ago as a lawyer of great ability, sound judgment, undying devotion to the interest of his clients and strong integrity. He inherited from his New England ancestors a rugged constitution which was the basis of his amazing capacity for work and of the great success that characterized his professional career. Mr. Ball's patriotic loyalty and public spirit have always been marked. The demands of his profession were

always so exacting that he never sought public office or became a member of any social or fraternal organization, with the single exception of the Marquette Club, of which he was a member during the last twenty-five years of his life. He was at one time nominated as Circuit Judge for the twenty-fifty circuit, but he felt that he had to decline the honor, and in 1895, at the Republican Convention, his name was presented for nomination as a candidate for the office of Justice of the Supreme Court. He was also a candidate for State Senator in 1896 against Peter White but was defeated. From September, 1905, to September, 1914, he served three terms as a member of the Marquette Board of Education. He was for many years a member of the American Bar Association. He was also for the last fifteen years of his life president of the Marquette Bar Association. He was a Commissioner on Uniform State Laws from Michigan for nearly ten years and a member of many of its most important committee. He was devoted to the cause of Uniformity of Legislation and was one of the most efficient members of the National Conference.

Mr. Ball is survived by his widow and three children: Lieutenant-Colonel George E. Ball of the United States Army, now stationed at Camp Custer; Mrs. Walter Hill, wife of Mr. Walter Hill, a lawyer, in active practice in East Liverpool, Ohio, having four children, and Mrs. John G. Stone of Houghton, Michigan, whose husband is a son of Judge J. W. Stone of the Michigan Supreme Court and is head of the firm of Stone, Weaver & Schulte of Houghton, Michigan. Mr. and Mrs. Ball also lost three children by death: Charles W., who died in infancy in 1867, Amelia N., wife of Clarence N. Murphy of Redlands, Cal., who

died in May, 1905, leaving three children, and James E. Ball, who married Miss Sarah McConnell of Madison, Wisconsin, in 1894 and died in 1914.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Ball were devoted and loyal members of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, of which Mr. Ball was a vestryman for the last four years of his life, and was also Senior Warden ever since the death of Mrs. Ball's father, Philo M. Everett, whom he succeeded in the position.

Mr. Ball, who was conceded to be the leader of the Upper Penisula Bar and one of the most prominent members of the legal profession in Michigan, has spent his entire life within the borders of this State.[25] Rapidly he worked his way upward until he commanded a most extensive business and was numbered among the foremost members of the Bar of the State. It has been well said of him: "It is only by mind that one can rise in professional circles, and industry, enterprise, determination and superior ability have been the stepping stones on which he has climbed to his position of eminence."[26]

The secret of his success in life has been due to hard work alone, for he was a man who was never easy unless he had some great legal problem to solve or some

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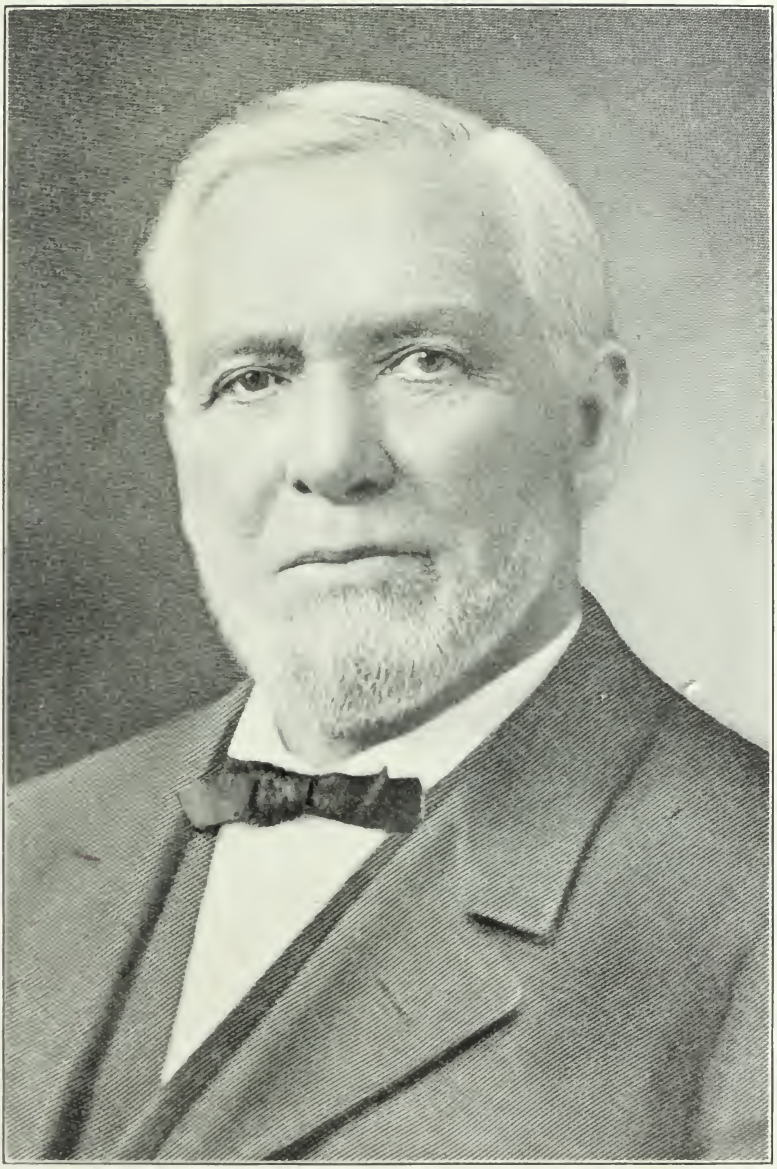
25. *Northern Peninsula of Michigan, Memorial*, p. 17.

26. *History of the Men of Progress of Michigan*, p. 378.
A writer in the Northern Peninsula of Michigan Memorial Volume, p. 17, thus speaks of him: "Mr. Ball, who was considered to be the leader of the Upper Peninsula bar and one of the most prominent members of the legal profession in Michigan,—was born near Sempronius, Cayuga County, New York, January 15, 1836. In penning this sketch we give the life history of one of the most prominent and influential citizens of Michigan, who has spent about his entire life within the borders of this State. While at Houghton, the firm of Ball & Ross built up a large and lucrative practice. He resided there four years and in September, 1870, he returned to Marquette. He retained his business interests in Houghton as a partner of Mr. Chandler, and in Marquette he was associated with Mr. Maynard. His success has been most gratifying and is sure evidence of his skill and ability. Rapidly, he worked his way upwards until he commanded a most extensive business and was numbered among the foremost members of the Bar in the State. He had been offered many positions of trust but he could not be induced to abandon his chosen profession and continued to give the best years of his life to its varying demands, in which he realized its highest rewards as a lawyer of great fidelity, learning and trust."



DAN H. BALL
(At the age of about 65 years)

large case to defend or prosecute. He found no time to while away at common frivolities and was only contented to be at work, studying up some point to win a case or engaged in consultation with the heads of some of the many large concerns which left the legal responsibility of their business in his hands. In his profession he was a substantial rather than a brilliant lawyer.

His life, although practically an uneventful one, has been successful and his career is one that any man could be proud of.[27] His life almost spans the history of jurisprudence in Michigan. He was in fact a pioneer of this section and saw his home town develop from a backwoods settlement into its present prominence. Strictly speaking, he was what might be called a "country lawyer," but he started in life in a most fortunate section and at a time when it made wonderful growth. Ordinarily, the city of Marquette might have been one of the small shore towns in a region which had only assumed little importance in the great affairs of the country. But this was a period of great growth everywhere and Marquette happened to be located where the greatest growth was possible. The discovery of rich iron deposits at this point made it the object of great investment, enterprise and industry. The great improvement of the country, the building of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, was in fact what made possible the growth and development of the Lake Superior region. The city of Marquette was the first to feel its effect upon that region. This is essentially a section of lake navigation. The region is dependent upon it and the importance of Marquette and its rich iron deposits came at once to the notice of the public.

27. *Cyclopedia of Michigan, Historical and Biographical, Illustrated*, p. 72.

Its iron industry was at that time the leading industry of the country and it is not surprising that Marquette became the metropolis of the Lake Superior region. The general business created by this condition of affairs and the large interests centered there gave rise to the demand for a lawyer of character and of good legal ability. Dan H. Ball proved equal to the demands of the hour, and he grew with the growth of that section of the State.

We do not speak of Dan H. Ball as of Marquette, but rather of Lake Superior or the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. While locally situated, his fame has extended to the utmost confines of the State. His history is contemporaneous with the history of the jurisprudence of the State. It was his good fortune thus to be spared for a long and eventful life, which gave to the people of his own town and County as well as that of the State, the largest measure of service at a time when Marquette needed the legal services of such a man in a rapidly growing section of the State; when its affairs required that they should be guided by such a commanding influence as that exerted by a man of the moral and legal fiber of Dan H. Ball, who had thus lived within its borders during nearly the whole period of its history.

AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR*

By Edwin J. Draper
University Of Michigan

THINKING Americans have gone through a great transition since those tragic events of the summer of 1914. We had watched the arming of Europe with complacency, because we believed it a big bluff; for to our way of thinking a universal war would so disrupt business as to preclude such eventuality. We had gone to sleep; business had absorbed our abilities; we had fancied ourselves isolated from Continental affairs; we had forgotten that there existed autocracies whose destinies were antithetical to ours. There was approaching a great crisis in the world's history, and we were too thoughtless to heed the storm signals and prepare for the inevitable tempest. All the while the ominous war clouds gathered; all Europe held its breath—and America slept on. The thunder grew intense, the lightning flashed, and the storm broke. Europe was engaged in a struggle for dynasties, empires, civilization, and the world. One by one the other nations of the world entered the conflict, until on the sixth of April, 1917, the United States of America aroused from its slothful neutrality and declared the actions of the Imperial German Government to be "nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States."[1]

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* This and the following essay won prizes in the Michigan Historical Commission's prize essay contest of 1917-18. See *Magazine* for January, 1918, p. 17.

1. Woodrow Wilson in his war message to Congress delivered April 3, 1917 Reported in *Detroit Free Press* for same date.

There are two reasons for the declaration of any war: the actual pretext, and the fundamental underlying causes for differences. We entered this war because Germany violated the recognized principles in international law, and because we felt that it was the age-old—perhaps to be the final—struggle between autocracy and democracy.

First of all we must understand that international law is not a formal set of statutes, "but is based upon manifest principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations."[2] "It had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed on the high seas, where no nation had dominion, and where lay the free highways of the world."[3] The leading maritime powers in 1909 met in a naval conference and drew up the Declaration of London. "The Declaration of London not only reenacted the rule of the Declaration of Paris (1856) that a blockade to be binding must be effective, but added the further condition that it must be declared and notified. . . . When diplomatic notice has been given that certain ports or coastlines are under blockade, there is a notification by blockade. When the notification is backed up by no force, or by an inadequate force, there is a 'paper blockade' which is in law no blockade, but a lawless attempt to injure neutral trade without right.[4] . . . An effective blockade is one which is 'maintained by a force sufficient to render hazardous the ingress to or egress from a port'."[5]

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2. Secretary of State Lansing in Sussex note. State Department File Number 763.72/2597a—European War No. 3, August 12, 1916.
3. Woodrow Wilson, *War Message to Congress.*
4. T. J. Lawrence, *Principles of International Law.* Fifth Edition, p. 686.
5. U. S. Naval War Code 1900 as reported by above book, p. 680.

Germany violated these principles. On January 31, 1917, the imperial German Government informed the United States Government, "Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean *all* navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England, from and to France, etc., etc. *All ships met within that zone will be sunk.*"[6] The boundary of this zone was over 3,000 miles long; it is obvious that the German navy was *not* sufficient to blockade effectively so great an area. Hence, the United States considered this a paper blockade, and as such not binding. But the German Government persisted in carrying out its policy; thus, after losing many ships, we had no recourse but to declare war.

A fundamental principle of international law is the right of visit and search. If a merchant ship is suspected of carrying contraband, the commander of a belligerent warship has the right to stop it, send over a small detachment, and examine the ship's papers. If he finds the papers unsatisfactory, he may then examine the vessel's cargo. "In exceptional circumstances the rule of taking the vessel in for adjudication may be set aside. Destruction is allowed instead if the observation of the rule would involve 'danger to the safety of the warship or to the success of the operations in which she is engaged at that time'. . . . Before the prize is burnt or sunk the captor is bound to provide for the safety of all persons on board, and to secure the ship's papers and all other documents 'which the parties interested may consider

6. Memorandum delivered by German Ambassador to Secretary of State, January 31, 1917. State Department File No. 763.72/3179.

relevant for deciding on the validity of the capture'."[7] There are innumerable cases of Germany's violation of this principle of visit and search. Here is the telegram announcing the loss of the S. S. Algonquin:

> "Plymouth, March 4, 1917.
> Steamer Algonquin of New York, from New York for London with food-stuffs, sunk by German submarine 65 miles west of Bishops, March 12th, six a.m. Captain reports vessel not warned and sunk by shell fire, crew of 27 all saved in open boats. Submarine refused assistance.
> No other boats in sight."
> (Signed) Stephens.[8]

The submarine commander had not ascertained whether the Algonquin carried contraband; hence he had no right to sink it without making a thorough search and without providing for the safety of the crew. This does not mean turning them adrift in open boats as he did. Even though Germany had declared that area blockaded, yet such a blockade was, as we have shown, illegal and not binding.

The right of visit and search applies to merchant ships primarily, and no belligerent has a right to sink a passenger ship without warning. Yet, Germany sank many liners. After the Lusitania affair the German Government promised that, "Liners (i. e. passenger boats) will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."[9] Scarcely six months later, March 24, 1916, she sank the S. S. Sussex. We

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7. T. J. Lawrence, *Principles of International Law*, p. 485; *Declaration of London*, Articles 48-53.
8. Consul Stevens to Secretary of State. State Department File No. 300.115 A 13.
9. Ambassador Bernstorff to Secretary of State, Sept. 1, 1915. State Department File No. 763.72/2084.

wish to quote considerable of the "Sussex note," because it is a clear review of German submarine policy, and as part of a diplomatic note is officially correct: The S. S. Sussex (French registry) bound from Folkestone to Dieppe. . . . was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender. . . . The torpedo was fired by a German submarine. . . . "The Sussex had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troop ships or supply ships. About 80 of her passengers, non-combatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States were killed or injured. . . . It is only one instance of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of the merchant ships of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and more unmistakably the activity of the German undersea vessels of war.

"Vessels of neutral ownership. . . . have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. . . . Great liners like the Lusitania and Arabic and mere passenger boats like the Sussex have been attacked without a moment's warning, and the lives of non-combatants, passengers, and crew have been destroyed in a manner which the Government of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. . . . The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds. The use of the submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long established and incontrovertible

rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants."[10] These statements, carefully substantiated by affidavits and evidence, speak for themselves.

President Wilson, a little later, in his war message to Congress said: "The Prussian autocracy from the very outset of the present war (during which time we were neutrals) has filled our unsuspecting communities and even the offices of the Government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of council, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note of the German minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence."[11] Germany has violated the most sacred rights of international law and the most solemn covenants of friendship."

It is because there is a lawless giant abroad among the nations, a mighty power of "blood and iron" which knows no law "save that of necessity," which has violated the sacred rights of mankind, which is dangerous to the peace of the world, that America has taken up the challenge, and enters the fight "to make the world safe for democracy."

In its final analysis this is a war of two conflicting ideals. It is a struggle by the free people of the earth to prevent autocracy from gaining world dominion. It is not a new fight, but is as old as man himself; it is but a repetition of the unceasing conflict between groups of nations having different customs, different theories, and different ideals. It is inevitable that these ideals should clash, and when they do the result is almost always a war to eliminate one of the opposing

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10. Sussex note—State Department. File No. 763.72/2597a—"European War No. 3."
11. President Wilson in War Message to Congress.

theories. The destinies of Germany and America have come into conflict, and the war is on to see which ideal shall survive.

There are two opposing theories of government accepted in the world today. The one believing;

> "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it;"[12] it is "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

the other asserting:

> "We consider the life of men and of states as merely a fraction of collective existence."[13] "The state is a moral community. It is called upon to educate the human race by positive achievement, and its *ultimate object* is that a nation should develop in it and through it into a real character; that is, alike for nation and individual, the *highest* moral task."[14] In other words, the individual exists only for the development of the state. "Germany is a state established by, and composed of, states."[15] "It is the soldier and the army, not parliamentary majorities and votes, that have welded the German Empire together." "There is only one law—my law; the law which I myself lay down. There is only one master in this country: I am he, and I will not tolerate another."[16] This theory that the state is all-powerful is a direct challenge to the belief that Governments exist for the people.

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12. Declaration of Independence.
13. F. Von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, p. 25.
14. *Ibid.*, reference to Treitschke.
15. F. A. Ogg, *Governments of Europe*, p. 204.
16. Kaiser William II—"The War-Lord"—quoted by Thayer in *Germany vs. Civilization.*

In order more thoroughly to understand the Imperial German Government, we must become somewhat acquainted with the history and characteristics of the German people, who not only tolerate but actively support such an autocracy.

The Congress of Vienna (1815) made the Germanies into a very loose confederation of sovereign states, under the leadership of Austria. Now, Austria is the least German of any of the Germanies, and it is evident that she would scarcely be fitted to unite into a strong federal union with the other states. It became increasingly evident that Prussia was to be the dominant power in German unification. In 1848 the German Liberals, inspired by revolutionary outbreaks in Austria and France, revolted and tried to secure a liberal constitution. The revolt failed, although Frederick William IV did grant in 1850 an inadequate and illiberal constitution. This showed that the unification was to be through federal agencies rather than democratic ones. In 1858 William I was made Regent of Prussia; a year later he became King. King William I was a soldier, and with a soldier's insight saw the army was to be the cornerstone of the foundation of the new Germany. He was not a statesman; and so on September 23, 1862, he called Prince Otto von Bismarck to head the Prussian ministry.[17] Thayer describes the history of Prussia from 1862 to 1871 after this fashion;

> "And now a Prussian greater than Frederick rose up to steady Prussia's shaky nerves, to make Prussia mistress of Germany and Germany arbitress of Europe. To these ends Bismarck revived the army

17. These facts are taken from C. D. Hazen's *Europe Since 1815*, C. J. Hayes *A Political and Social History of Europe* and F. A. Ogg's *Governments of Europe.*

> as the necessary material weapon; but he also relied upon diplomacy, which he practiced with no more scruples than Machiavelli taught his prince to observe. By guile he trumped up a pretext for dismembering Denmark; by craft he inveigled Austria to join in that crime; by cunning he then forced Austria to fight for their common spoil; by the falsified Ems despatch he infuriated France into declaring war on Prussia which he had been secretly instigating for years. These were the methods by which he created the German Empire: This was the imperious statesman whom the Germans revere."[18]

So it was that in 1871 a new and strongly autocratic Germany had been forged through the policy of "blood and iron."

The new Empire was supposedly democratic; but actually was far from it. The constitution of democratic (?) Germany is an interesting document. It was written in three weeks by Bismarck in order to smooth the way for the conversion of Germany into the premier militant power of Europe. . . . There is an especially detailed section relating to the military organization of the realm. . . . The constitution contains little that relates to the status or privileges of individuals. There is no bill of rights, and it makes no mention of abstract principles. . . . Prussia became inevitably the preponderant power in the Empire. . . . Germany is a state established by, and composed of states. . . . The King of Prussia is ex-officio German Emperor. . . . Responsible to no earthly authority, the Emperor may not be brought for trial before any tribunal, nor be removed from office by any judicial proceeding. . . . The functions of the Emperor are not numerous, but are of funda-

18. W. R. Thayer, *Germany vs. Civilization*, p. 33.

mental importance. The Emperor is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He may determine the strength and composition of armed contingents; supervise the drilling and equipment of troops, and mobilize the whole, or any part of the forces. . . . The Emperor is vested with the right to convene the Bundesrath and Reichstag and to open, *adjourn*, and close them. . . . Finally, the execution of the laws is intrusted to the Emperor.[19] The government is through a legislature of two houses. The Bundesrath has the real power. It is an assembly of sixty-one delegates appointed not by the people but by the rulers of the various German States. Prussia controls a block of twenty votes, and so can prevent a change in the constitution, as fourteen negative votes can stop any amendment. All measures must receive the consent of both houses, but the Bundesrath can, and does, prevent the Reichstag from putting through any legislation dangerous to the autocracy. The Reichstag, elected by the people, is in reality a mockery, and scarcely more than a huge debating society, which can be dissolved by the Emperor or Bundesrath "with the sheer intent of putting an end to its obstructionism."[20] And this was the much-vaunted democracy of Germany, this sham, this hollow-shelled, this false democracy.

What manner of people are these Teutons, who not only tolerate, but actually acquiesce in such a Government? Before 1914 we heard much of the German *Kultur*. We regarded the Germans as the most educated people in the world. We admired their

19. F. A. Ogg *Governments of Europe*, Chapter on the Constitution of the German Empire.
20. *Ibid*.

schools and institutions, and tried to imitate them. We thought of them as great objective seekers after truth, as great musicians, artists, and scientists. But there was a blacker side to *Kultur* which we did not see until after August and September, 1914, when;

> "Towns and villages were looted and burned. Civilians were massacred; women outraged; children brought to death. Churches were burned. The country was stripped and laid waste. All the scruples and rules by which men had sought to moderate the needless cruelties of war were mocked and flung aside. Ruin marked the track of the German troops, and terror ran before their advance. Time would fail me to tell of the industrious little towns and the quaint old-world hamlets that were wrecked, or of the men and women and young children that were tortured, and had trial of mockings and bonds and imprisonment, and were slain by the sword and by fire. Is it not all set down in the great gray book of the Kingdom of Belgium, and in the blue book of the committee of which Lord Bryce was the head? Have I not heard with my own ears the agony of those whose parents were shot down before their eyes, whose children were slain or ravished, whose wives or husbands were carried into captivity, whose homes were made desolate, and who themselves barely escaped with their lives? Find an explanation for these Belgian atrocities if you can. It means that the Werwolf was at large."[21]

The Belgian atrocities were not spasmodic outbreakings of individual cruelty, but the working out of a carefully prepared system of "frightfulness," which had been preached by Frederick the Great, who asserted, "as to war, it is a trade in which any or the least scruple would spoil the whole business."[22] Clausewitz thought war "is but the continuation of a

21. Henry Van Dyke, *Fighting for Peace*, pp. 79-80.
22. Frederick the Great in his *Confessions* as repeated by Thayer in *Germany vs. Civilization*, p. 57.

policy by other means."[23] Frederick von Bernhardi says, "If we wish to gain the position in the world that is due us, we must rely on our sword, renounce all weakly visions of peace, and eye the dangers surrounding us with a resolute and unflinching courage."[24] In 1834 Heine said that there would come a day, "When the old stone gods will rise up out of the desolate ruins and rub the dust of a thousand years from their eyes, and Thor will spring up with his giant hammer and dash to pieces the old Gothic cathedrals."[25] The ruins of the once glorious cathedral of Rheims bear silent testimony that Thor is awake. That God Thor is none other than Kaiser William II.

The Kaiser and his Ring have cultivated the lust for war together with the rendition of absolute and unquestioning obedience to imperial authority. In short, German Kultur and training has had but one end—world dominion for Germany. Anything and everything that advances this plan is Kultur, and ardently to be desired—everything else is barbarian, and to be destroyed.

An impartial arraignment of the Imperial German Government will reveal that it is essentially an autocracy; that it believes the individual exists only for the State; that it was conceived, established, and maintained through war; that it accepts war as part of the divine order; that it believes German Kultur is superior to any other civilization, and it therefore should be forced upon the entire world; that it has broken its most solemn word, regarding treaties as "mere scraps of paper;" that it has violated continually

23. Clausewitz, *Conquest and Kultur.*
24. F. von Bernhardi, *How Germany Makes War* (1911) authorized American translation of 1914, p. xiv.
25. Heine, *Saemmtliche Werke,* III., 108.

the most sacred principles of international law, of justice, mercy, and humanity; that it is nothing more or less than a lawless giant amuck among the nations of the world.

America was compelled to fight because a treacherous, murderous, depraved, utterly cruel Ring threatened to drag down into the black chaos of barbarism the very principles upon which our nation is founded. God knows we did not desire this war. We watched it come with horror and unbelief. We were patient beyond measure. We watched the murderous devastation of Belgium, Serbia, Armenia, Poland, and Northern France. We saw our nation overrun with spies and plotters. We saw our rights violated, our ships sunk, and our citizens killed. We saw the damning evidence of black crimes pile up upon the German Government. We saw that there could be no peace while a once mighty nation forsook the paths of humanity, religion, and justice to run rampant over a blood-stained world. We watched and endured till the breaking-point; then with deliberateness and calmness we rose in defense of our life. We fought to prevent another "Belgium," another "Lusitania," another "France." We drew the sword in defense of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." We shall fight to the last in defense of our honor, our homes, our lives, our national existence, and the right of a free people to exist peaceably and to govern themselves. Thank God, America is *not* too proud to fight!

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AMERICA AND THE GREAT WAR

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THE war beginning with the invasion of Belgium in the midsummer of 1914 became a world war because international morality and fundamental rights of nations were assailed. The historian of today is compelled to write that the Imperial Government of the German Empire planned for war and chose the time to execute its will.[1] The assassination of the Archduke of Austria and consort was an incident but by no means a cause of the war. "Der Tag," long planned for and looked forward to would be when economic, diplomatic and military conditions would be most favorable. The harvests of the two preceding years had been bountiful. The great military storehouses were filled to overflowing with foodstuffs and the crops of 1914 were ready to be harvested. There was such a supply of sugar on hand that the land normally planted to sugar beets for the season of 1915 was ordered planted to oats and barley because of less labor required to handle the crops and the abundance of the sugar supply on hand.[2] The economic position of the Empire had been advanced until its achievements in agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce were at the maximum. Expansion was necessary to maintain the economic equilibrium. To increase commerce required colonies and shipping, and in this respect the Germans were distinctly infer-

1. *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Dispatches of Lord Grey. *Report of International Institute of Agriculture.*

ior to the English. There is a relation between shipping and colonies that the Germans had reached in their tonnage and naval equipment.

NEW INVENTIONS FAVORABLE TO THE GERMANS

The invention by Simon Lake of the submarine was to the German war party most welcome. Von Tirpitz would with this new weapon challenge the rule of Brittania on the sea. Zeppelin claimed the mastery of the air with the dirigible balloon, while the last invention that seemed to complete the trinity of the German possibilities was that of Haber for the direct synthesis of nitrogen and hydrogen to ammonia. This allowed the product to be oxidized to nitric acid for the manufacture of munitions and was superior to the arc and cyanide processes heretofore employed in synthetic nitrogen making.

THE GERMAN WAR PLANS

When Lord Grey in July, 1914, asked the Imperial German Government if France declined to support Russia as an ally of Servia, would the territorial integrity of France be respected, the answer was affirmative as to France itself but not as to the French colonial possessions.[4] It seems more than probable that the German Emperor and Bethmann-Hollweg at first aimed to extend the German influence in the Balkans, divided as they were after the war with Turkey, and also into Asia for colonial and strategic reasons. This program would have strengthened the

3. *Engineering and Mining Journal.*
4. *English White Book.*

Empire as an outlet for surplus population and as a source of raw material for manufacturing. At the same time, it would have struck at the most vulnerable point of England, the Suez Canal and Egypt. This would have separated England from India and her other colonies. A similar political and economic effect can be understood if one were to imagine our nation with the Mississippi River States in possession of Germany and in addition the Panama Canal seized. Turkey had permitted its armies to be trained and officered by Germans and was ready for use as a potential ally or for exploitation as circumstances might determine.

The Surrounding Monarchies

Francis Joseph of Austro-Hungary was in his dotage and easily controlled by the German military party. Ferdinand of Bulgaria was a trader for power without the virtue of a principle or scruple as to his country's future. He had a wrong, fancied or real, against Serbia in the territorial settlement after the Balkan War. Constantine of Greece attached to the House of Hohenzollern by marriage and personally weak, together with the Turkish situation as previously outlined, made a condition extremely favorable for German expansion or extension of power into the South and East.

German statisticians were keenly aware of the yearly birth rate making Russia's three hundred million population an increasing factor of man power that might offset the superiority of the Germans in other directions. Russia was autocratically governed by a ruler who had allowed German influence to permeate the inner circles of government. German artisans in the higher

positions of production controlled the industrial situation. Many Russian shop employees had been obliged to yield their places to Germans. So that for the present, political and economic Russia had already been discounted as a strong fighting factor. The German spy system had made Germany aware of the internal weakness of Russia, out of which must come some change, and whatever it might be it would never be so favorable for Germany as a Russia under the weak Czar Nicholas.

The autocratic countries of the world might be classed as criminal, complacent and corrupt. The philosophy of the individual that plans crime and approves its results is no different in character from that of the aggregate in government called a nation. Prussia had made war a profitable business and its viewpoint was on even a lower plane than that of a bank robber who murders those who resist by way of disapproval of his business methods. The war of Prussia against Denmark in 1864 was estimated to have netted Prussia 100% above cost, while the Franco-Prussian War was on the basis of 1000% profit.[5]

WHY FRANCE WAS ATTACKED

The expansion of the German Empire south and east into Asia could be accomplished without doubt but those countries could not pay an indemnity to finance this war. The ultimate difference among the Pan-Germans in council was not a matter of principle, but as to whether some nation or nations should pay an indemnity or whether this burden should be borne

5. Address of Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis.

by German industries. Industrial Germany would enormously increase business and escape the expense attached to war by levying an indemnity on a nation that could pay. The interests of industrial Germany were made to coincide with those of the military caste and the wider military plans were adopted, which called for reaching Paris by way of Belgium. The militant strength of a nation is augmented by a policy of indemnity exactions, because added effort will be made to escape the cost and make the investment pay. These conditions also compel a fight to a finish and then the practice of deceit as to the real war power when approaching exhaustion compels the making of the best terms possible. Pacifist efforts could well be financed with German money, because the German plan was to pay this expenditure by indemnity from the vanquished. The indemnity exacted of France in 1871 was a resource for the war of 1914. Piracy on the high seas has been abolished but military piracy was and is in this war an established German policy.

Controlling Public Opinion and the Prevention of Democracy in the German Empire

The German Empire employs a large number of men who are ranked under the general term "Intelligista." The professors and doctors have a specific place in an autocratic Government that is hardly known in a democracy. These men are the specialists in shaping public opinion and national philosophy to the purpose and intent of the ruling class. Public positions and personal favors await the man who can assemble and dissemble what is desired. If you can imagine a

political party in the United States always in power, bidding with price and position for those who would acclaim its greatness and beneficence, and degrading those who would not, the impossibility of a democracy in the German Empire would be plain. The budding democracy was destroyed root and branch in 1848.

When President Jordan of Leland Stanford University was an exchange lecturer from the United States at the University of Berlin, he delivered a lecture on the origin of law and government in the United States showing how an idea gained public attention, finally approval, and became a law by and from the people. The lecture was repeated before the Kaiser and councillors by command and listened to with disapproval.

GERMAN SOCIALISM

Bismarck's policy had been to supplant the yearnings for democracy with a beneficent state socialism. Whatever was apparently socialistic in the German Empire was the autocratic control of activities and public services which gave a large measure of enjoyment and well being to an individual who neither complained nor controlled. This policy made the individual a part of the machine, all awaiting "the day" when he should be made to serve the state, for the state was supreme. The boasted part that socialism had assumed to play in the world to prevent war, maintain peace, and save its children from "cannon fodder," and especially German Socialism which prided itself on its superiority, has been the disillusioning of socialists except where Socialism is a cloak for pro-Germanism.

The First Offense of the United States Against German Plans

The Pan-German element were incensed at the benevolence of the Anglo-Saxon nations in their attitude toward the Oriental peoples. These were for exploitation in trade and were to be the special fields for the rule of the younger German seeking wealth and adventure. This attitude was the offense of England, rather than any curtailment of the freedom of the seas. This did restrict German trade, for the German idea was to oppress as long as possible and then dispossess. The United States in a sense first came in conflict with the German colonial spirit when Admiral Diedrichs disputed with Admiral Dewey to prevent the capture of Manilla and the Philippine Islands. The English fleet was stripped for action to assist Dewey's fleet if necessary. The unpublished record of Admiral Dewey made public by Senator Lewis of Illinois details the promise of a great war about fifteen years from that time, as planned by the Germans and told by Diedrichs to Dewey. The plan was, two months to Paris; this but a step to the crushing of England; they would then hold New York and Washington; annexation was not desired but an indemnity of a billion or so would be exacted, the Monroe Doctrine would be abolished and then South America would be disposed of as they saw fit.[6] The entrance of the United States into its place as a world power lined it up of necessity with the European democracies. From that time forward German and American viewpoints have been divergent. The opportunity given the Philippine people for self development was a deterrent

6. Addresses by Shailer Matthews.

to German plans. The full meaning of sending a war fleet commanded by Admiral Dewey to prevent German aggression in Venezuela was made by President Roosevelt and was understood by the Germans when Dewey's name was mentioned. Captain Coghlan of the U. S. Navy was officially reprimanded for uncomplimentary references to the Kaiser, but popularly commended. The spirit of opposition to the domineering Pan-German ideas was growing among the navy because they came in contact with it. Farsighted statesmanship saw that an efficient navy was the best guarantee of this great democracy among nations, and more than anything else it was this belief that increased the naval power of the United States and found it as near ready as it was when war was declared. If the war had been of short duration with a speedy German victory, the United States would have been awakened to meet a victorious enemy seeking indemnity. There would have been no arbitration or consideration, but the power of might. The battle of the Marne was as Providential to this country as it was to France, for it gave time to arouse democracy first to admire the French resistance and to awaken to the horror of the despoiling of Belgium. The United States gave aid to the Allies in supplying munition and supplies which was strictly within our legal rights. Pacifists argued that while this action was legally defensible it was avoiding the spirit of neutrality. The German propagandist was busy in the meantime with subsidized papers and a program of pacifism. The spirit of peace was preached to those of feeble comprehension, by a propaganda from a nation skilled in the arts of war, that they might meet an untrained army from an unprepared country. The German Socialist in the United States declared

that this was a trade war forced on the German people, that it was capitalistic and that American manufacturers were aiding and abetting England against socialistic Germany. These skillful appeals to all classes of American life somewhat retarded the crystallization of opinion in this country. The final effort was made by the American Peace Society financed by German funds to prevent the raising of an army after a state of war was declared, an effort to use the democracy of the United States to betray the democracies of the world. The action of Governors Bournquist of Minnesota and Lowden of Illinois in preventing this peace assemblage was the final effort that convinced the Imperial German Government of the full awakening of America.

THE UNITED STATES WAS OFFICIALLY NEUTRAL

All this time the United States had maintained most scrupulously a clean record for neutrality. The suspension of munition shipments to the Allies would have been contrary to international rights which the Germans admitted was the law. This would have been in fact unneutral, for it would have worked to the advantage of the Germans in allowing them after preparing the attack, to have denied the Allies the right and the power to meet the assault. To have changed international laws then would have been favoring the German cause. This would have compelled the arming and military equipment of every first class nation in prospect of attack by an armed enemy.

The Bethlehem Steel Company had been advised that to ship parts of submarines to England to be assembled was contrary to the neutrality laws, since this was tantamount to building or equipping vessels

by a neutral country. This was to maintain the position of the United States in the Alabama case before the Geneva Tribunal, but the extension was in favor of the Germans. On October 8, 1916, the German U-53 entered Newport harbor and was given the same consideration that any belligerent war vessel would be allowed in a neutral port. The United States made no effort to discriminate against the character of this boat, in fact, declined to accept the French memorandum earlier presented, as to the discrimination against submarines. The U-53 and Deutschland were allowed the same privilege accorded to liners and cruisers of the French and English. The appearance of this submarine was the notice to the American people that their splendid isolation was gone and that we could be included in the U-boat zone whenever the time might come. Our neutrality allowed seventeen torpedo boat destroyers to accompany the U-53 beyond the three mile limit and be a witness to the destruction of two British and one each of Norwegian and Dutch vessels. There would have been a heavy loss of life if the American destroyers had not acted as rescue boats to the crews of the destroyed vessels. The suspension of the attacks of U-boats after the Sussex attack and promises made by the Germans was used to build and prepare for the new stroke against the enemy and neutral shipping.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

The reasons for defensive warfare in the minds of the citizens of the United States is infringement on democracy's rights or the prevention of its progress. The indictment of autocratic government in the

Declaration of Independence is America's masterpiece of democracy. The Civil War was to abolish slavery and to maintain a strong nation. The Spanish-American War was to give democracy its opportunity in Cuba and the Spanish possessions. Lincoln dedicated a nation on the battlefield of Gettysburg to the rights of self-government and Wilson's championship of this right for all nations was most logical and right. The United States as the great democracy of the world was bound to ally itself against the Prussian system of might and force. The legal indictment of the Imperial German Government includes the sinking of the Lusitania and subsequently the Sussex, Gulflight and Arabia in utter disregard of neutral rights and international laws. German money had been used to foment dissention in Mexico and to finance the return of Huerta into that unhappy country. The destruction of American property such as munition plants, elevators, and storehouses was systematically planned and executed from the German Embassy in Washington while under the protection of the United States. These indictments are of themselves sufficient, but that physical support had to be given the great democracies of Europe in their battles against a military autocracy which aimed at world domination was the dominant American feeling. It was our fight as well as theirs. The United States which had assimilated and sheltered the immigrant from Europe was obliged by what Wm. H. Seward described as "the higher law" to align itself against the program of Potsdam which after dominating Europe would not stop until a world Empire had been achieved.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY CONTRASTED

"We the people of the United States ordain and establish" is a fundamental note of our Government. The King of Prussia was the German Emperor and ruled by divine right. The Bundesrat consisting of sixty-one members was really an assemblage of the sovereigns of Germany. The seventeen votes of Prussia in the Bundesrat and the three allotted Alsace-Lorraine were voted as directed by the King of Prussia. Most legislation was initiated in this chamber of the monarchs. Every law passed by the Reichstag had to be submitted to the Bundesrat for rejection or approval. No public record of its activities was made. The Reichstag had no control over ministries, for Bismarck repeatedly said he was not their servant but exclusively the servant of the crown. Bethmann-Hollweg also told the Reichstag, "I do not serve you, I have a more august master." This Chancellor when reproached by the Socialists for not resigning as did the ministers of France when a vote of confidence was adverse, retorted that even children knew the difference between Germany and France. The Emperor declared war without the assent of the Reichstag, the popular assembly of the Empire. Only the Bundesrat's consent was necessary and even not this body in case of defensive wars; and the Hohenzollerns claimed all wars were of that character.[7] It was of this government that President Wilson says, "that the menace of the world's peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force

7. War Information, Series No. 3 Writings of Chas. D. Hazen of Columbia University.

which is controlled wholly by their own will, not by the will of their peoples." "No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith or observe its covenants."

The recital of broken pledges, outrages, and crimes against this country previously noted, together with the fundamental distinction of government, are coordinated in this arraignment of Prussianism by the President of the United States. Slow to anger, President Wilson, on the occasion of breaking diplomatic relations said, "We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government, we merely seek to vindicate our right to liberty, justice, and an unmolested life." Public conscience had been awakened and was in advance of national leadership. The savagery of the Germans in Belgium where every right of humanity had been violated; the destruction of Poland with every crime committed on young and old, regardless of sex, increased the horror of the Hun. The sight of Serbia stripped and bleeding added to American indignation. France, the hero-nation, who had befriended us in our war for independence, who had been bled white, appealed to our imagination and sense of justice, and her appeal was answered by General Pershing, "Lafayette, we are here."

A DEMOCRACY AT WAR

Aside from the negligible minority of German sympathizers and pacifists, never had this nation more cheerfully and unitedly joined in war. The conscription act was passed and enforced with no friction. The training camps for officers chose men for fitness and not because of wealth or social position. The cantonments brought together men of all classes

who cheerfully undertook strenuous training. The morale of these camps was unexampled. Only one discreditable act of soldiers is recorded, that in a Negro troop in Texas, caused by liquor, and for this severe punishment was meted out. The sale of bonds was an appeal to all classes and not to centers of wealth. A nation was transformed and few could be found who were not engaged in some essential service of war. Habits were changed and the whole attitude towards life's activities was transformed; egotism was supplanted by altruism. The border lines between the United States and Canada seemed to vanish. Canadian troops paraded in American cities. The Union Jack with the Tricolor of France was familiarly displayed with the Stars and Stripes. The magnanimity of the Allies toward Russia in her government groping with fickle administrators is one of the most gratifying aspects of democracy when sorely disappointed and partially betrayed.

THE GERMANS AFTER THE WAR

The word "finis" has been written upon autocratic Governments and also upon the status of Deutschland in industry, commerce and finance. The betrayers of civilization and ravishers of peoples can not yet mingle freely in the family of nations as a national power. This will not be due to treaties or indemnities, but to the very nature of her offenses. The trade of Germany with England and France was 44% of its total foreign trade before the war. National sins are punished by national calamities. The individual's business is founded upon faith, and the treating of treaties as but "scraps of paper" has shaken the confi-

dence of the world. The Germans will be cut off from raw material because the world will not use their finished products. The splendid talents of Germany have been prostituted to purposes of evil and her position is that of the outcast among nations. This will probably compel migration, in which case the scientific achievements of the German will be made to serve democracy individually and accept the modern conception of government. He, too, will become democratized. This will be for the safety of the world, and the German slogan of "Deutschland ueber Alles" will have a different meaning.

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A State Department of History and Archives

Organized May 28, 1913

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THE 45TH ANNUAL MEETING of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was held at Lansing, June 3, 4 and 5. Owing to the special session of the Legislature only the evenings could be had for the usual place of meeting in the Senate Chamber, the day meetings being held in the Lansing Chamber of Commerce dining room.

The program centered about historical aspects of Michigan in the Great War. President Carton's address, read by the Secretary and published in another place in this issue of the Magazine, laid much emphasis upon the need of collecting at once Michigan's historical records of the war in order that future generations may be able to answer accurately and fully the questions that will arise.

The papers read were as follows:

Mrs. William H. Wait (Ann Arbor), *The Daughters of the American Revolution of Michigan in the Great War;* Mrs. Dora H. Stockman (Lansing), *Michigan Agriculture and the Food Supply during the War;* Caroline Bartlett Crane, LL.D. (Kalamazoo), *The Work of the Woman's Committee, Michigan Division, Council of National Defense;* George L. Lusk (Lansing), *Michigan in the Army and the Navy;* Rev. Orlo J. Price (Lansing), *War Work of the Church and the Y. M. C. A.;* Miss Anna A. Pollard (Grand Rapids), *A Phase of*

Historical Work in Kent County; Mrs. S. W. McKee (Grand Rapids), *Awakening of Several Rip Van Winkles;* Thurlow W. Pope (East Lansing), *How I Became Interested in Michigan History;* Mrs. Florence I. Bulson (Jackson), *Michigan State Federation and the Great War;* Alva M. Cummins (Lansing), *Michigan in the Liberty Loans;* Rev. John R. Command (Detroit), *War Work of the Church and the Knights of Columbus;* Mrs. Franc Adams (Mason), *The Woman's Relief Corps as a Pioneer;* James L. Smith (Muskegon), *The Business Man's Club in War Work;* Sidney T. Miller (Detroit), *War Work of the American Red Cross;* Lieut. George H. Maines (Custer), *Camp Custer.*

Mrs. Terry Corliss of Lansing in the absence of Mrs. Franc Adams due to illness read the paper on the W. R. C. Mr. Miller's paper was read by Major Rolph Duff, Secretary to the Governor, Mr. Miller being called out of Michigan on business. Mr. James H. Brown of Battle Creek gave some very interesting stereopticon views to accompany the paper of Lieut. Maines on Camp Custer. Lt. Col. A. H. Gansser of the 32nd Division, A. E. F., introduced Lieut. Maines with stirring remarks on the life and character of Gen. George Armstrong Custer, after whom Camp Custer is named.

The special session of the conference of delegates from county and local historical societies held Thursday morning gave promise of what can be achieved through this feature of the annual program. For historical workers it proved to be unquestionably one of the most interesting and profitable parts of the program. Among those present were Miss G. B. Krum (Detroit), Miss Anna Pollard, Mrs. Georgia M. Hubbard and Mrs. S. W. McKee (Grand Rapids), Florence M. Gwinn (Pigeon), Miss Olive Pendill (Marquette),

Mayor James L. Smith (Muskegon), Dr. A. G. Cowles (Durand), Henry Park Collin (Coldwater), Andrew Campbell and Byron A. Finney (Ann Arbor), William L. Jenks (Port Huron), Gerrit Van Schelven (Holland). The reports and discussions of these delegates will have an important bearing upon the historical work of the coming year and upon future programs of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. At this meeting were given a number of interesting pioneer reminiscences followed by a most interesting discussion as to best methods of collecting this kind of historical data.

The business meeting of the Society was the most lively one held in many years. At times several members were on their feet at once for recognition. William L. Jenks of Port Huron presided and in his usual businesslike manner assisted in the dispatch of business to the satisfaction of all. Discussions waxed specially vigorous over proposed amendments to the constitution looking to the enlargement of the funds of the Society. On motion of Mr. Van Schelven of Holland the meeting was adjourned until the mid-winter meeting of the Society at Three Rivers when these amendments will be voted upon. A large attendance is therefore specially desired at the mid-winter meeting.

Three new trustees were elected, to fill vacancies caused by the expiration of terms of office, as follows: Claude S. Larzelere, to succeed Augustus C. Carton; Lew Allen Chase, to succeed Woodbridge N. Ferris, Charles A. Weissert, to succeed Junius E. Beal. The splendid service of the outgoing trustees is too well known to need comment here. Mr. Larzelere is Professor of History in the Central Michigan Normal School at Mt. Pleasant and is now writing a text-

book on Michigan history for schools. Mr. Lew Allen Chase is the new head of the history department in the Northern Michigan Normal School at Marquette, having removed thither recently from an instructorship in the Houghton High School where he was an earnest worker in the Keweenaw Historical Society. Mr. Charles A. Weissert of Hastings, author of the Weissert bills passed by recent legislatures in behalf of Michigan history, is now engaged in writing a history of the Indians of the Grand River region and of Michigan.

In the absence of a quorum of the board of trustees the present officers of the Society were continued.

The following persons were elected honorary members: Junius E. Beal (Ann Arbor), retiring trustee and Regent of the University of Michigan; Alvah L. Sawyer (Menominee), a trustee of the Society and the Society's special representative in the Upper Peninsula; Edward W. Barber (Jackson), pioneer of Michigan, editor of the Jackson *Patriot* and contributor to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections;* and Lucius D. Watkins (Manchester), an earnest and powerful friend of the Society in its early days of struggle.

A committee on resolutions, consisting of Byron A. Finney, Gerrit Van Schelven and Miss Olive Pendill, submitted a report expressing the Society's deep sense of loss in the death of Henry R. Pattengill, who was for so many years the esteemed and faithful Secretary of the Society; also a report expressing the Society's thanks to the Lansing Chamber of Commerce for the use of their building; also a report of thanks to all who helped to make the program possible and to carry it through so successfully. All reports were unanimously adopted.

It was voted to accept the invitation of the Menominee County Pioneer and Historical Society to hold the Upper Peninsula meeting at Menominee August 6 and 7; also to accept the invitation of the Abiel Fellows Chapter, D. A. R. to hold the next midwinter meeting in the city of Three Rivers, St. Joseph County.

The music throughout the several sessions was unusually fine, rendered by the pupils of Lansing schools under the direction of Prof. John W. Stephens, the pupils of St. Mary's school directed by the Sisters of Charity, the Boys Chorus of the Industrial School led by Mrs. Roy Davis, the Industrial School band conducted by Mr. Ernest C. Moore, the Knights of Columbus Glee Club under the direction of Miss Grace Gauthier, the M. A. C. male chorus directed by Prof. Bruce E. Hartsuch, in addition to solo, duet, trio and quartet numbers, both vocal and instrumental. Dr. A. G. Cowles of Durand dispensed old time numbers on a real fiddle. The old time songs by the quartet in costume, directed by Miss Emily Barnard, were greatly enjoyed. Rarely has the Society listened to a more inspiring musical program.

THE LEGISLATURE IN ITS REGULAR SESSION OF 1919 showed much interest in State history. The continuation of the Michigan Historical Commission's appropriation of $15,000 annually was a pleasing endorsement of the work of that body. A bill was passed authorizing the Board of Supervisors of any county to raise and appropriate a sum not exceeding $200 in any one year for the purpose of collecting and publishing historical materials bearing on the history of the county and for the fostering of any movement

tending to further its historical interests. This bill, introduced by Hon. Charles Weissert of Hastings, Barry County, when taken in conjunction with another bill introduced also by Mr. Weissert which became law in the previous session (Act No. 279, Public Acts, 1917) by which the Boards are empowered to appropriate a similar sum annually for the purpose of marking historical places in the counties and for the erection of monuments or other memorials in commemoration of notable events connected with the counties, makes a strong support for local historical work. Here is a chance for the county historical societies to cooperate with the Boards of Supervisors.

A commission of five members was created, to be appointed by the Governor to arrange for proper celebration in commemoration of the centennial of the signing of the Indian Treaty of Saginaw on September 24, 1819, the commissioners to be reimbursed by the State for expenses necessary in performing this historical service. The bill was introduced by Senator Penney of Saginaw, upon recommendation of a committee authorized by the previous session and appointed by the Governor to consist of Mr. Walter J. Hunsaker of Saginaw, Mr. Frank Blair and Mr. Henry Ledyard both of Detroit.

For compiling and publishing a history of the 32nd Division, United States Army, under command of Major General William G. Haan during the Great War, there was appropriated the sum of $10,000. This history is to be published jointly with the State of Wisconsin, the expense to be borne equally.

Attention should be called specially to the law empowering Boards of Supervisors to raise and appropriate annually $200 for historical purposes. Historical societies in the counties will now have a sufficient

sum to enable them to do effective work, provided of course they inform the Boards of their needs and secure the appropriations. Many Boards will not need urging, as they have repeatedly said they desired only authorization to take care of the historical interests of the counties financially. It was by members of Boards who were also members of county historical societies that the present measure was prompted.

It seems safe to say that all persons in the county who are prominent enough to serve on these Boards will be already alive to the wisdom of collecting and preserving the unofficial as well as the official records of the life of the people, whether these be manuscripts, printed materials, pictures, museum objects, etc. It will be the part of wisdom however for the county societies to make sure of favorable action along this line before the next meeting of the Boards. The annual meeting of all the Boards is by State law on the second Monday in October. Other meetings are authorized to be held from time to time at the discretion of the Boards. In order that all Boards may have special notice of the new law, the Historical Commission has sent a copy to each of them.

No county should now be without a historical society. In counties where none exists, public spirited citizens should organize for one and secure the needed financing from the Board of Supervisors. This is worth working for. It is the most valuable historical work that can be done in a county this year. Once the precedent is established with the Board, and the money wisely used, the future of historical work in the counties will be assured.

Will you not at once see your representative and senator who voted for this measure, also your promi-

nent business men, club women, teachers, and county and township officers, and others who may be interested to help make this a distinguished year for historical work in Michigan.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORGANIZATION of the Alger County Historical Society with names of officers is given in the January number of the Magazine for 1919. Alger, one of the youngest of the counties, was the fourth county in the Upper Peninsula to form such a society, which speaks audibly for the enterprise and culture of its citizens. An historical society is not a luxury but a necessity. It is indispensable in a cultured community and a necessity in every county which has a proper pride in its past. No county is too young to have at least some history to record and when a county is young is just the time, none better, to collect and preserve the records of the public and private life of its citizens.

The president, Robert Wright, editor of the *Cloverland Farmer* at Munising, a descendant of the Indian people who formerly called the lands of this county their own, is well equipped for his duties and very enthusiastic in and for the work. Two interesting papers were given at the Upper Peninsula meeting of the State Society at Marquette last August by members of the Alger County Society,—"Munising in History" by Mr. Thomas B. Wyman, and "Pioneer Days in Munising" by Mrs. Ella Cox Whitmore. The State Society will doubtless be able to accept Alger County's invitation to meet with them in the near future.

BAY IS ONE OF THE NEWEST COUNTIES to organize for historical work. Last February a preliminary meeting was held at the beautiful home of Regent William L. Clements, at which time a committee of five was appointed to perfect the organization of the Bay County Pioneer and Historical Society. Mrs. George Shields, Prof. George Butterfield, Mrs. W. W. Williams, Mrs. C. J. Smith and Supt. F. A. Gause composed this committee. Principal Butterfield and Supt. Gause gave excellent talks on the work which the schools of Bay City have done in local history. Readers will recall the book made by the schools under their supervision (*Bay County, Past and Present*), which was reviewed at length in the Magazine for July, 1918. These young people when they grow up will doubtless be vigorous workers in the new Society, and indeed should become members now. There is no good reason for having an age limit in such an organization. Young and old are interested, and now that so many of the pioneers are gone, it is doubly needful that the young should catch the living spirit of the olden days from those who are still among us.

The following notice of the completion of the organization of this Society is quoted from the Bay City *Times-Tribune* of May 7: "The Bay County Historical Society was placed upon a permanent basis last night when a hundred residents of the city met in the common council chamber and elected the following officers under the constitution of the Michigan State Historical association: President, John L. Stoddard; first vice-president, Mrs. George A. Shields; second vice-president, Frank A. Gause; third vice-president, Mrs. Thomas L. Handy; recording secretary, A. H. McMillan; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Harry J. Daily; historian, George E. Butterfield; treasurer,

John Donovan: directors, William L. Clements, Fremont J. Tromble, William Gaffney, William F. Jennison, Mrs. C. J. Smith, Mrs. Daniel Shannon, W. H. Gustin, Mrs. Henry B. Smith.

"Mrs. Shields, who has been the moving spirit in the formation of the society, called the meeting to order and asked Mr. Donovan to act as chairman. After the election of officers Mr. Donovan retired and Mr. Stoddard went to the chair.

"The program included a paper on the 'Organization of Bay County' by John Donovan; a paper on 'Newspaper Reminiscences' by W. H. Gustin, and a talk by Fremont J. Tromble on the first house erected within what is now the territory of Bay City. Mrs. Henry B. Smith read a letter from Mrs. Chester L. Collins, of Cleveland, in which it was said that she would present to the society, oil portraits of her father and mother, Judge and Mrs. Albert Miller, who were among the earliest settlers of Bay City. The society accepted the gift with thanks.

"It is expected that in the new library building there will be a room that can be used by the historical society, and it is proposed to gather for this room literature and relics of the early days of Bay County, assembling them at the library for preservation. Doubtless there are many relics, such as pictures, books, old deeds, letters and diaries, connected with the pioneer life of Bay County, which their present owners would be willing to donate to the society if they were sure that they would be preserved."

IF ANY COUNTY SHOULD FAIL TO AVAIL ITSELF of the opportunity to use the money obtainable from the County Board of Supervisors for collecting historic data and marking historic spots, it is reasonable to say it will not be Berrien.

In this issue of the Magazine a paper by Mr. George Fox, curator of the Chamberlain Memorial Museum at Three Oaks, sets forth the excellent work of that Foundation. Not only Three Oaks but all who are interested in the history of Michigan will mourn the death of its benefactor, Mr. Edward Kirk Warren. Mr. Warren was an active member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, as is also Mrs. Warren, who helped to build up the historical collections at Three Oaks and is devoted to carrying out the plans they made together. A biographical sketch of Mr. Warren is contained in the memorial number of *The Acorn* (February 6, 1919), a paper devoted by Mr. Warren to local history, and a full sketch of his life and work will appear in a later number of the Magazine.

Very worthy indeed is the work being done by the Woman's Progressive League of Niles in erecting an appropriate marker to the memory of Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., one of the most famous of the early Jesuit missionaries and explorers in the region of the Great Lakes. A full report of this work of the League will be published in the Magazine upon completion of the memorial.

CHIPPEWA COUNTY, over ninety years old, has recently organized a county historical society with Rev. T. R. Easterday of Sault Ste. Marie as President. The "Soo" is one of the most historic places of the Great Lakes region. The work of the new society in the eastern portion of the Upper Peninsula will nicely supplement that of the Mackinac County Historical Society formed a little earlier, and these two societies together should become at least equal in strength to their vigorous brother in the west at Houghton.

THE KEWEENAW HISTORICAL SOCIETY is one of the most aggressive and effective organizations of its kind in the Middle West. It has back of it an understanding community and is closely affiliated with the Houghton Public Schools and the Houghton Public Library. The public Librarian, Miss Harriet L. Allen, is Secretary and the Society's collection is housed in the Public Library which is controlled by the Board of Education. The History and English classes in the schools give much attention to local history, using it for theme work in English and for exercise in historical research with the result that Houghton children are familiar with and proud of the pioneer history of the "Copper Country."

The Society recently suffered a severe loss in the removal of Prof. Lew Allen Chase to Marquette where he heads the Department of History in the Northern State Normal School, but Houghton's loss is Marquette's gain and we are thankful that Mr. Chase is still connected with us by State ties at least. The same may be said of Supt. John A. Doelle who

removed also to Marquette, to be secretary-manager of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau. Mr. Doelle understands the meaning of economic and industrial history and its relation to the work of his Bureau and we have to thank him for a call at this office recently when he engaged to represent the economic and industrial interests of the Peninsula at the Menominee meeting in August. He is a live speaker. Come and hear him.

"NEVER DO TODAY what you can put off till tomorrow," obviously would be a dangerous practice to follow in general.

It is specially dangerous for historical societies to follow this motto in the particular matter of reporting their work if they desire to make this work of real value to others and to be credited with a proper pride in their achievements.

It is fatal to the report of a Secretary if it must be made when the spirit has grown cold and when the details of a meeting have slipped from the memory. The report should be made immediately after the meeting. If it is the purpose of the meeting to focus interest, revive the spirit of the work, summarize the achievements and make new plans, then a Secretary who does not report as soon after a meeting as possible is justly open to criticism of lacking a proper pride in his opportunity to serve.

Not infrequently reports from the County societies have been received by the editor of the Magazine so long after a meeting that they are valueless as historical "news." News is not desirable "news" of course

when it is so cold that no one is interested in receiving it.

If the Secretary is ill or in any other way incapacitated, the President should appoint someone else capable of making a full, accurate and interesting report of the Society's work.

Of course, if the Society has done no work, the lot of the enterprising and self-respecting Secretary is not to be envied. It is not pleasant to make a public confession of indifference to the community's welfare on the part of the Society.

If the Society regards itself and its meetings as merely one of the several means of giving its members "a good time," that is another thing. Then it is not an Historical Society in the sense in which we speak.

The Secretary is not wholly to blame if he reflects the spirit of the Society. Generally speaking, it is true that an indifferent report by a Secretary indicates "dead rot" in the organization.

However, a live Secretary, under such circumstances, can do a great deal of valuable work in putting new life into the organization. This he can do now with special power, backed by an appropriation from his County Board of Supervisors. Let him get at once to work and secure this appropriation, the law providing for which is noted in another place in this issue of the Magazine. This is the best work he can do this year.

If the Secretary is successful in getting the cooperation of his County Board,—and every tactful Secretary should be,—let him report it by all means as early as possible to the editor of the Magazine, (Secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing) for this is the work towards which we should bend our efforts this year.

Ponder it well. If 83 counties would appropriate $200 each, $16,600 would be at hand for the historical interests of the counties during the year, which is more than the Historical Commission receives for all of its work of collecting, compiling, editing and publishing.

Every Society should take up this work at its annual meeting and make definite plans for the expenditure of the money when obtained. And please let us know immediately after your meeting what you plan to do and later how you come out in this work.

Will you not help us to help you in the cause of Michigan history.

A HISTORY of Michigan's part in the great war has been planned by the Michigan War Preparedness Board as a suitable memorial of the State's war work and an authoritative and useful manual for citizens and schools.

This work is designed to cover not only the distinctly military and naval history but all important civilian activities in the great army of the "home front." Special attention will be given to the working of the selective drafts, the conservation activities, the financing of the war, the suppression of enemy propaganda and the maintenance of public morale, life at the camps and training fields, and the work of the many organizations of civilians which helped to win the war.

Throughout the war Michigan's part was second to none in the Union, and in some respects surpassed that of any State. It will be recalled that some days before the United States declared war Governor

Sleeper had already taken steps to meet that contingency by preparing the way for a State appropriation of $5,000,000, and for this action a personal letter of commendation was received from President Wilson praising the spirit with which Michigan launched her war work. The account of the work entailed in the handling and expenditure of this money under the direction of the War Board reveals the efficient discharge of a great responsibility.

A first step in making the History is the collecting and studying of the documents which are as yet widely scattered in the places of their making. By arrangements with Col. C. W. Weeks of the General Staff, War Plans Division, Historical Branch of the national War Department at Washington, Michigan has received much assistance in getting the history of activities in the camps used by Michigan men, particularly at Camp Custer.

While the final history of a war cannot be written immediately after war, yet a history so nearly contemporary, if carefully written in cooperation with those who have been participants in the war and helped to direct the State's activities, will have for future writers something of the nature of an historical source. It is desired also to discourage the commercial exploiting of this field by companies who make "history to sell," which is rarely true history because hastily written, by amateurs, often from materials which are incomplete and untrustworthy.

Copies of the War Board's History will be presented free to libraries, public institutions and schools and sold to citizens at a nominal price to cover the cost of printing.

Several of the States have made preparations to collect and publish the history of their activities in

the war, appropriating in some instances as high as $25,000 for the next biennium. Besides Michigan, specially alive to this work are California, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin. While almost all the States have officially planned to make complete rosters of soldiers and sailors and in most cases with extended biographical data, the above named States have published elaborate plans for collecting also non-military data embracing the work of civilian war service organizations. The work is being carried on under various auspices,—State Historical Commission, Historical Society, War Board, Council of Defense, State University; in many States the rosters of soldiers and sailors are being made by the Adjutant General.

Some of the States have included suggestions for soldiers and sailors' memorials, in general a public building of some kind,—library, schoolhouse, club house, providing one or more rooms for a war library and museum where the war records and objects may be placed.

LIBRARY Service, the bi-monthly publication of the Detroit Public Library, contains some very interesting letters and short extracts from historical documents bearing upon the early history of Detroit and Michigan. These are issued in detachable supplements which bound will make very readable and worthy volumes. Those interested may secure copies of *Library Service* for the asking from the Detroit Public Library.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY which is being prepared by the Michigan Historical Commission is rapidly nearing completion. All the bibliographical materials in the Burton Historical Collection, the main library at Detroit and the University of Michigan library have been listed. The library of Congress and the Grand Rapids Public Library have supplied the Commission with card records of the printed materials on Michigan in those libraries. The cards in the State Library are being collated, and several private libraries of the State are being searched for additional materials. Many State and society publications which are more complete in the State Library than in other libraries have yet to be listed, and a large number of magazines and publications of historical societies are yet to be carefully searched for articles on Michigan. At present the bibliography comprises about 15,000 titles of printed material, a descriptive list of 3000 volumes of manuscripts and about 350 maps. In order to make the work already done available in printed form a first volume will be issued presently, to be supplemented with a second volume at an early date.

A LIST OF MICHIGAN NEWSPAPERS old and new has long been needed by students of Michigan history and those doing administrative work requiring historical data, and the Michigan Historical Commission has recently undertaken to compile such a list. The task is not an easy one, and to complete it would require a trained field-worker who should go systematically into every county and by personal interviews and examinations search through every place where files

or fugitive sheets of old newspapers might be supposed to be. The Commission's list thus far has had to be made by correspondence, chiefly with libraries and editors of newspapers past and present. The data obtained in this way has been carefully compiled and arranged by county, city and name of paper; no attempt has been made as yet to gather records of files which may exist outside of Michigan.

It was the Commission's intention originally to publish this checklist, but in view of the historical survey of Michigan counties which the Commission will make in the near future, it is thought the list will gain enough to warrant holding it from publication until after this work is done, meantime, the manuscript may be consulted in the Commission's office at Lansing.

BY ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE "Carleton Day" in Michigan schools is now an accomplished fact, to be observed on the poet's birthday, October 21, each year. The bill was fostered by the Will Carleton Memorial Association already mentioned in earlier issues of the Magazine as an organization formed to honor and preserve the memory of Michigan's poet laureate. The Association has at present about 200 members, and membership is open to all friends and admirers of the poet. The fee is one dollar without further dues. The present officers are: President, George S. Richards (Toledo, Ohio); Vice-president, Joseph W. Mauck (Hillsdale); Secretary, Miss Marion G. Augur (Hillsdale); Treasurer, John E. Carr (Adrian). The present chairman of the "Carleton

Day" committee is Mr. Byron A. Finney of Ann Arbor, boyhood friend of the poet.

THE DEATH OF GEORGE POMEROY GOODALE, May 7, 1919, removed from the active roll of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society one of its most distinguished honorary members. He is a man mourned by the thousands who may never have seen him but who have felt closer to him than to many whom they meet daily. His life went out in the fullness of days, an example and an inspiration. A review of the work of Mr. Goodale will find its proper place in a later issue of the Magazine.

THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION AND THE MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY desire to call the attention of readers to the advantages of membership in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association:

1. The M. V. H. A. bears much the same relation to the States of the valley as does our Society to Michigan. Our former president, Mr. C. M. Burton is a life member.
2. Members receive all publications including the *Proceedings* and the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, issued quarterly. Active membership is $3 a year. This gives you two volumes of high class historical reading for $3.

3. The annual meetings of the Association are held in April or May at some point in the Mississippi Valley. Membership entitles you to all privileges of these meetings.
4. The teachers' section at these meetings has its own program and the papers are published in the *Proceedings*.
5. Membership in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association is a distinct mark of serious historical purpose.

Address Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Secretary-Treasurer, Lincoln, Nebraska.

AMONG THE HISTORICAL MATERIALS received for review since our last issue the following are specially noteworthy:

The World War and Its Consequences, by Prof. William Herbert Hobbs of the University of Michigan (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1919). The author is well known to readers of the Magazine as one of the most earnest workers furnished by Michigan during the war. The volume is essentially a group of lectures given in a course on patriotism in the University of Pittsburg in the summer of 1918. In their present form they are "designed primarily to afford access to that reservoir of fact upon which every teacher must draw who would present adequately and convincingly the subject of patriotism." Theodore Roosevelt says, in an introduction to the volume written in October, 1918:

"It is the literal truth that if I could choose only one book to be put in the hand of every man and woman in the United States at this time, I would choose the

book of Professor William Herbert Hobbs..... When I say that this book tells the truth I especially allude to the fearlessness with which the writer tells all, or almost all, of the whole truth—without which the half truth may be the veriest falsehood."

These four hundred pages are written in a style so lucid, vigorous and convincing that one is carried on to the end as with a tide. They have much the effect of the spoken word, and one feels throughout a powerful personality. The inset side topics are scarcely needed as a guide. References are gathered at the end of each chapter, serving both to document the text and to guide further reading. Teachers will find especially inspiring the chapter on "The Teaching of Patriotism."

Another work of Michigan origin is *The History of the Michigan State Constabulary*, published by the Michigan State Constabulary Association (Detroit), and dedicated "To the Honorable Albert E. Sleeper, third of Michigan's war governors, whose high purpose it was that Michigan exert her might to the utmost in the cause of democracy and preserve at the same time her domestic security and peace." The work is interestingly written, and on the whole is true to its purpose, as frankly stated in the preface, "to bring to the attention of the people of Michigan the need of a permanent State force, and to acquaint them with the remarkable work that in so short a time has been done to bring the present State Constabulary to its high plane of efficiency and usefulness." Starting with the story of the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police, the Pennsylvania State Police, the New York State Troopers, the development of the constabular idea is traced in Michigan. The war emergency is discussed and the leadership and service of Col. Roy

C. Vandercook and his Aides are dwelt upon at some length. The service of the Constabulary in enforcing the State Prohibition Law, the protection given in rural districts and in the zones of industrial unrest, and the war service of the force in suppressing enemy propaganda and protecting property is shown in detail. The argument is quite conclusive that the State Constabulary has proved to be a strong arm of the State in helping to sustain "the majesty of the law." The booklet is of special interest in view of recent legislation continuing the State Constabulary upon a peace footing. A score of illustrations add to the historical value.

America in France, by Major Frederick Palmer (Dodd, Mead and Co., New York, 1918) is probably the most complete story of America's part in the Great War yet written. Breaking new ground over a vast field Major Palmer writes with the ease of a master and the knowledge of one privileged to enjoy the intimacy of General Pershing and his staff with our expeditionary force in France. It is the sequel of *My Year of the Great War* and *My Second Year in the Great War*, covering the third and fourth years. Specially interesting to Michigan readers will be the vivid accounts of the fighting at Belleau Wood, Chateau-Thierry, Saint Mihiel and the Argonne. It is one of the contemporary books on the war that will live for its literary quality as well as for its information which partakes of the nature of source material.

A little book of pocket size interesting to teachers and students is *A School History of the Great War* by a trio of scholars of whom the leading author is Prof. Albert E. McKinley of the University of Pennsylvania (American Book Co., New York, 1918). It is an admirable little book for its purpose, telling briefly

the story of the war for grades seven and eight. It was prepared at the suggestion of the National Board of Historical Service and expands into a narrative the outline published by the United States Bureau of Education as Teachers' Leaflet No. 4, in August 1918. At the close of each chapter are suggestions for study, and references, and at the end of the book a chronology of the principal events of the war.

Another very important aid to history teachers is *Collected Materials for the Study of the Great War* compiled by Prof. McKinley (McKinley Pub. Co., Philadelphia, 1918). Its 180 pages, large quarto size, make it equivalent to an ordinary book of 500 pages, and the price (65c) places it within the reach of all. It is arranged in seven parts and with each part are given topics and directions for use. Part I contains the principal war-time addresses of the President, covering the immediate reasons for our entering the war, our ultimate purpose, the effect of the war on our traditional policy of "isolation," our relation to the Allies, and the President's views respecting a better organization of the world than existed before the war. These addresses are worthy of study also for their incomparable style and diction. Part II is a very clear and complete topical outline of the war, while Part III treats in a similar way the historical development of the modern world as a background for the immediate conditions leading up to the war. Part IV, the geography of the war, contains a series of maps bearing upon the military, economic, racial and political aspects of the war, and a number of outline maps for use in depicting further military and political changes. Part V is an extensive annotated bibliography of the war, so clearly classified that the student may quickly find among its 700 titles the

essential books and materials on any phase of the war. Part VI contains the more important statutes and joint resolutions of Congress from April 1917 to May 1918, showing the manner in which America was legally reorganized to meet war conditions, and Part VII is a similar selection of Executive Proclamations. The several parts of the *Collection* have also been issued separately for schools which do not wish them all.

Teachers can secure for a few cents the helpful little pamphlet, *Peace and Reconstruction: a Preliminary Bibliography*, published by the World Peace Foundation (40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston). It covers a wide range and is carefully annotated by Prof. Joseph Schafer as vice-chairman and acting executive of the National Board for Historical Service.

The History Teacher's Magazine has changed its name to *The Historical Outlook* to conform to the broadening of its scope and aims. Its appeal is now to all persons interested in the historical roots of the present. It is edited in close cooperation with the National Board of Historical Service and is an official organ of The American Historical Association. Prof. Albert E. McKinley of the University of Pennsylvania continues to be its managing editor and its contributors are among the leading college and university professors in the western hemisphere. The numbers for the school year just closed have embraced a series of articles on phases of American history of interest today, economic history as illustrating the present, historical interpretation of recent events, and discussions of historic and governmental phases of present-day Europe. A continuous feature is a series of aids and guides to the best recent historical publications, the actions of official bodies, and improved means of history instruction. The first number of

the new school year will be issued in October, 1919 (McKinley Pub. Co., Philadelphia, monthly during the school year).

An important series of school maps, in colors, is *The War Aims Maps* (Denoyer-Geppert Co., Chicago, 1919). These are large maps, over 2x3 feet on a standard. They show graphically the relative areas of the different countries in the war, the world and particularly Europe in 1914, economic conditions in Europe, the language areas, and detailed military operations in Northern France, Belgium and the Rhine district. A special map shows middle Europe and the Berlin-to-Bagdad plan. Separate maps are given of the Russian front, Siberia and the adjacent countries, and of Prussia at various stages of expansion showing growth by war. The series contains a fine military and naval map of the United States.

PAPERS

Historical Work After the War

By Hon. Augustus C. Carton

Lansing

LADIES and Gentlemen: The words you have just heard strike the keynote of the significance of our meeting here today. This meeting will go down in history as the first annual meeting of the State Historical Society since the Great War, and it is significant that the setting for it should be the capital city of the State, where so much history has been made in other days and where in the recent great trial of national strength our citizens stood loyally by the flag and went over the top in every movement. In this Lansing only typified what was being done in every city of Michigan. The records show that you gave freely of your men to the army and navy, that your women rallied loyally to the support of the home front and to the aid of the men on the battle lines, that you over-subscribed your Liberty Loans and contributed liberally to the Red Cross, to the Y. M. C. A. and to every worthy cause connected with the war. And you did it all with the same unselfish purpose with which the United States entered the war; and you continued your service until Germany was hurled back at the point of the bayonet and civilization was again made safe.

Peace now is assured to the world, and in the same spirit in which you faced the war you will face the problems of peace. The war has exercised upon American life a great awakening influence. It has led us to see things in the right proportions. Things which we thought important before the war, and which

1. Address of the President of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society at Lansing, June 3, 1919.

we were discussing with great earnestness, have passed into oblivion, and a new trend has been given to the vital currents of thought. We have discovered our weaknesses and learned our strength. Indeed, an era of our national life has closed, symbolized by the recent passing of the greatest American statesman of that era, Theodore Roosevelt. By him was sounded one note, which, however much we may have disagreed as individuals with details of his program, we can not fail to recognize as the dominant note of our national life under the American constitution, loyalty to the American people through an American program.

We have much to learn of the fine art of national living. Democracy means what we make it mean by living it. It is not what we think it is or feel it is that will count, but what we do as a result of our thinking and feeling, that is to determine our destiny as a people. History, as Patrick Henry observed, the light of the past, is the only light by which to guide the feet of the present. In our schools we must cultivate in our boys and girls the attitude of mind which leads them to study the past for guidance in the present. This is peculiarly the day of dreams and visions. It is the day of doctrines and prophecy. It is a time of peculiar danger, when the old lines of political, social, and economic arrangements have been broken up and life is plastic. It is a time for the study of history, as rarely ever before, to make sure of the casting of the new lines, based upon the well ascertained and tried experience of the peoples of the past. The only safe prophet is he who can cast into the future along the lines of projection which the past has shown to be safe and sane, not slavishly, but with the power of intuition to see the inner meaning of the history the world has made through the ages

and that we have been so rapidly making in these opening years of the twentieth century.

And just as we need to study world history, and particularly our own national history, so do we need to study our State history, and our county history, and our city history, and even our family history. In a Democracy, it is in great measure the life of the people in its smaller units that determines the life in the larger units; for if this is not so, then it is a delusion to hold that we are governed by the consent of the governed, from below upward rather than from the top down as in monarchies. And in our study of these smaller units we may learn lessons which are vital for our larger welfare in a more complete Democracy. Does our local history show that we have done the best we could do to be good citizens of our city, our county, and our State? If it does, it is cause for rejoicing.

It will show, among other things, that we have been zealous in collecting and preserving the historical records of the life of our community. Does it show this?

The collecting of historical records is a patriotic duty, and especially now our war records. Tell us about the Great War, will be the plea of tomorrow. Men and women, our children of today, will feel its results and will want to know all about the part we have taken, and the records must be ready. We shall want the story to be accurate, rich in detail, unbiased and of living interest. The story can not be fully told from army and navy records and official reports. These will furnish the outline, but the filling must be the stories told by the service flags pieced in like an old-fashioned quilt from the hearts and the homes of the people. The clippings from

village newspapers are of this sort. Letters and diaries tell the story. Complete files of county newspapers should be preserved in the local library or the historical society's rooms, or the high school, or the city hall, or the court house, or a bank vault, but preserved at all events, for future use. Then there are the posters, for the liberty loans, war savings stamps, the Red Cross, food and fuel conservation, army and navy enlistments, war relief, war gardens, camp libraries and a host of war activities. There are the perishable data of an economic and industrial sort, price lists, advertisements, and hand bills about the work of various local divisions of corporations and organizations in war service. There are the books, maps and pamphlets giving information on the war, and the manuscripts of speeches and sermons. There are the original schedules of statistics, military, naval, civilian, relating to local men in the army and navy, registered men, members of officers' training camps, Red Cross nurses, and volunteers in various war relief organizations, men in the selective drafts, the honor rolls of men in service kept by churches, schools and various societies. Photographic material is of prime historical importance, of soldiers, sailors, war committees, parades, war industry plants, etc., and all scenes of community interest. Then there are the documents of official and semi-official nature,—draft board records, correspondence and card reports, blanks, questionaires, instructions, orders, laws, and the war proclamations by Federal, State and local authorities, and all information on local organizations like the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., K. of C., and the Salvation Army, of whichever of these organizations did work in your community. There would be few of them lacking. A war museum might be estab-

lished in some convenient building at your county seat, perhaps a room in the public library, or in the high school, or in the court house.

Along with this attention to collecting war records, we should not neglect the records of the pioneers. Let us not neglect the days of Auld Lang Syne, the "good old times" of our fathers and mothers, in these days of strenuous readjustment. We owe much to those days, when the words oftenest on the lips were home, family, schools, education, churches, religion, virtue and morality. In the great crisis through which we have just passed we have been taught again the lessons of pioneer days, and the words the pioneers loved most to hear have been again upon our lips as we watched our boys going to the front and read their cheery, manly letters written from "Somewhere in France." We honor true manhood and womanhood in gathering the historic records of our pioneers.

It is the purpose, I take it, of the organization here gathered for this meeting, to stimulate the historic spirit among our people, to awaken in the young a true appreciation of the men and women who sacrificed to bring forth that which is now enjoyed by them, and to prompt them to devote some of their time to collecting the records of the lives and achievements of the pioneers. There should be in each township of every county an organization of teachers, school children and other citizens actively employed in collecting reminiscences and records of the local pioneer life, to be reported to the secretary of the county society, who might prepare it for an historical column in the local papers and for the Michigan History Magazine published by the State Historical Commission at Lansing.

In the words of the famous Dr. Samuel Johnson, "History may be formed from permanent monuments and records, but lives can be written only from personal knowledge, which is growing everyday less and less, and, in a short time, is lost forever." I believe it was Macaulay who said, "A people that take no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote generations." Interest in historical work is not a matter of personal gratification, nor of elegant leisure, but of public service and the discharging of a debt we owe to those who have made it possible for us to enjoy the full measure of liberty that is ours as citizens of this State, and of this Nation.

As one who has been honored with the position of President of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and as a member of the Michigan Historical Commission, it is my pleasure to congratulate the membership of this Society upon the fine historical spirit you have shown in preparing this program and inviting the people of Michigan to meet with you. I am sure that we shall receive from this meeting much help and renewed spirit for the patriotic and historical tasks that we are called upon each in our several communities to discharge.

Marquette County and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan

Judge John W. Stone

Lansing

FROM April, 1890, until January 1, 1910, I had the honor to be the Circuit Judge of the 25th Circuit, which included Marquette County.[1] Of that administration of the law I shall not speak more than to say that with such predecessors for examples, and with the support and assistance of an able and loyal bar, we did what we could to uphold the dignity and the majesty of the law. Since 1910 Hon. Richard C. Flannigan has faithfully and ably administered the law in this Circuit, and has richly earned the title given to him of "a just, upright and learned judge."

Not claiming to be a pioneer of Michigan, I am proud to say that I have been a resident of the State since April 5, 1856. On that day I arrived in Grand Rapids from the Western (or Connecticut) Reserve, in the State of Ohio, where I was born.

At that time Grand Rapids was a city of about 7,000 people. It was a town of wooden houses and buildings, and its first brick business block was erected that summer. It had no railroad, and I came from Kalamazoo over the plank road then just built, and over which there was a daily line of stages. The Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee Railroad was being built into Grand Rapids in the summer of 1856.

I first saw the Northern Peninsula of Michigan in the summer of 1882, when I came as United States Attorney to attend a session of the United States

1. Address delivered Aug. 23, 1918, at the joint meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and the Marquette County Historical Society, held at Marquette, Michigan.

Court at Marquette. In May, 1887, I went to Houghton to practice law, and I have been a resident of the Upper Peninsula ever since.

So much by way of personal recollection. In speaking to you today of the Northwest, the Upper Peninsula, and of Marquette County, I am taking the liberty of using a compilation which I made for and used upon another occasion[2].

To the student of history, the annals of the Northwest under three flags must ever be an interesting study. They read like a romance.

We have not time to speak of the labors of Father Marquette and his associates, interesting as it would be to do so.

Ninety years after the establishment of the mission on the straits of Michilimackinac, and more than a century and a half after the founding of Quebec, the French were compelled to yield to their persistent rival the vast country for which they had sacrificed so much, and whose possession, in the eyes of the world, added so considerably to the glory and grandeur of the crown, and promised such great things for the future. The treaty of peace was made Feb. 10, 1763, and it made final concession of Canada to the British crown.

With the triumph of Wolfe on the heights of Abraham, it has been well said, began the history of the United States. When France surrendered Canada to Great Britain the population of the English colonies in America exceeded that of several countries in Europe which in former times had won lasting renown in defending their liberties and independence against the assaults of more powerful neighbors. Two millions

2. Address delivered Sept. 17, 1904, at the dedication of Marquette County's new Court House at Marquette, Michigan.

of people accustomed to a share of liberty which was altogether uncommon at that period, and schooled by hard necessity to independence of action and the use of arms, must at any time and in any part of the world be a formidable power, and entitled, in all matters which concerned their relations to government, to a respectful hearing. This must be especially the case when their numbers are increased with great rapidity, and when their distance from the seat of authority is so considerable that their government as a discontented people must necessarily be exceedingly difficult and enormously expensive. But these obvious truths were either overlooked or haughtily disregarded, and a course of treatment for the American colonies at once unjust in its essentials, and offensive in its methods, was deliberately entered upon.

The Stamp Act as a measure of internal taxation, the attempt to collect a revenue from importations of tea, the closing of the port of Boston, the abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts Bay, and the proposal to send persons charged with crimes in America to Great Britian for trial in certain cases, and to quarter troops upon the colonists, were each and all indications of settled despotic purpose; and resistance to them went on from step to step, until delegates were chosen to a Continental Congress, which, when other measures failed to secure redress, was to declare the colonies free and independent states.

It would be interesting to follow the fortunes of the War of the Revolution and to show how the Northwest was conquered and secured for the American Union. This vast work was largely accomplished through the brave leadership of George Rogers Clark. He was the most conspicuous figure in the Kentucky settlements. He was a Virginian, from the mountain region; like

Washington he was a land surveyor; and in 1775, and again in 1776, he had visited the Kentucky settlements and made himself thoroughly familiar with their condition. His campaign against Kaskaskia and the capture of Vincennes are incidents of thrilling interest. You who have read "The Crossing," the historical novel of Winston Churchill, have had your recollections refreshed as to the bravery and fortitude of this great man. When peace came to be negotiated between Great Britain and the United States, the British commissioner was inclined to claim for Canada the boundaries claimed in the Quebec Act. Secretary Livingston, writing to Franklin, pertinently remarked that as that Act was one of the laws which occasioned the war, to build anything upon it would be to urge one wrong in support of another. The boundary between us and Canada, he said, has been very well ascertained by grants, charters, proclamations and other acts of government, "and more particularly by the settlements of people who are engaged in the same cause with us, and who have the same rights with the other subjects of the United States. * * * Our claims are such at least as the events of the war give us a right to insist upon."

Nothing was more certain than this. The British by the fortune of war had succeeded in holding nothing but a couple of posts on the connecting waters of the upper Lakes; all else had been wrested from them, and many little communities had made their homes in the disputed territory. These were Americans, and the United States could not in honor abandon them. The proper boundary between the two countries in this part of the world was obviously the line of the Lakes, and the British commissioner did not strenuously dispute it. Great Britian was perhaps

the more ready to concede the American claims, from the fact that Spain also was claiming the Ohio Valley, and likely to make trouble for the nation which possessed it. Thus was the Northwest conquered and secured for the American Union.

A different result would have changed the whole current of subsequent American history; how much, no one can calculate, or has basis for any reasonable conjecture. The achievement was of incalculable value to America and it was won with a handful of men, by the patriotism, unflinching courage, and energy of George Rogers Clark.

At the opening of their struggle for independence the American States had no common bond of union except such as existed in a common cause and common danger. They were not yet a nation; they were a loose confederacy. At the close of the war one of the chief difficulties concerned the vast territory lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, not yet settled or occupied by people of European race, but which the people of the States were determined not to abandon.

The Confederacy as such could of course make no claim to this territory except as an acquisition resulting from the war; but it was claimed by individual States, and to much of it, the claims were conflicting. This was particularly the case with all that part of it lying north of the Ohio and west of the present boundary of Pennsylvania. New York claimed it under the treaty with the Six Nations. Virginia, Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed all, or parts of it, under the vague and uncertain terms of their charters, and Virginia claimed it also, by virtue of the conquest made by Clark under the authority of the State, and at its expense; a conquest which that State had made

complete and effectual by the organization of counties and the establishment of civil government. A committee of Congress took the matter in charge and finally declared the title to be in New York.

Thus matters stood until March, 1784, when Virginia again came to the front with a cession, qualified only by a reservation for bounty lands for the soldiers who, with Clark, made the conquest of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and with stipulations for the reimbursement of the expenses of that conquest, for the security of the French inhabitants, and for the eventual election of republican States within the ceded territory. Nobody could well complain of these provisions. Massachusetts ceded its claims in April, 1785, and the cession of Connecticut, with certain reservations, was accepted in the following year. By these several cessions the Union acquired jurisdiction over the territory north and west of the Ohio, and title to its unsold lands except as they had been reserved, but subject to such aboriginal rights as had not already been extinguished by treaties with the Indian tribes.

The Confederacy had thus acquired a vast domain, upon which there were already living many people. These people were without a government; and some provision for this just need of the social state was imperative. Such provision could now be made by no single State; it must be a Confederate Act; for only the Confederacy had jurisdiction over the territory.

The Ordinance of 1787 "for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio" followed in due time. This has well been called the immortal ordinance. Judge Cooley has said it was "immortal for the grand results which have followed from its adoption, not less than for the wisdom and far-seeing statesmanship that conceived and gave form to its provisions. No

charter of government in the history of any people has so completely withstood the tests of time and experience; it was not a temporary adaptation to a particular emergency, but its principles were for all time, and worthy of acceptance under all circumstances."

It has been the fitting model for all subsequent territorial government in America. The significant provisions were contained in six articles, which it was declared "shall be considered as articles of compact between the original states and the people, and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable except by common consent."

The first of these provisions provided for freedom of religious worship.

The second was a comprehensive bill of rights, and in the enumeration was included an unusual and very significant provision making contracts inviolable.

The third provided that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty they shall never be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

The fourth declared that the States to be formed from the territory should remain permanently in the Confederacy, and share its obligations, and that all

navigable waters and the carrying places between them should be free.

The fifth provided that not less than three, nor more than five States should be formed from the territory, and that these as they attained a population of 60,000, should be admitted to the Union under republican constitutions.

The sixth should be quoted:

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Provided always that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully re-claimed and conveyed to the persons claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

In all this ordinance, so full and complete in its provisions for government, and for the protection of individual rights, framed though it was when popular notions of government were crude and unsettled, not a provision appears which after the lapse of more than a century does not still appear wise and proper.

For its dedication to freedom credit has been given by partial friends to several different persons; but Jefferson first formulated the purpose, and for him it constitutes a claim to immortality superior to the Presidency itself.

The Ordinance was the beginning of the end of American slavery. It checked at the banks of the Ohio the advance of a system fruitful of countless evils, social and political. But the Ordinance of 1787 did not establish immediately a state of universal freedom. Many slaves were already in the Territory; some of them Africans, brought by settlers from New

York, Virginia and elsewhere; but more of them Indians or their descendants.

With the close of the War of the Revolution, by the final treaty, we have seen how the American government understood that the territory south of the Great Lakes was conceded to it; and it was agreed that all military posts were to be surrendered within five months. But no move was made in that direction, nor was any notice sent to commandants of military posts. President Washington sent Baron Steuben to take possession of Detroit, but General Haldimand, at Quebec, refused him passports, and wrote that no orders had been received to deliver up the posts. In 1784 another attempt to gain possession was refused. John Adams, then minister to England, in 1786 made demand for the surrender of the forts, and was refused, on the ground that the States had failed to fulfill stipulations as to debts due British subjects.

Then followed seven years of Indian troubles, and the campaign of General Wayne. In 1794 John Jay was sent to England to negotiate, and the Jay Treaty was ratified by the President in 1795. It provided that on or before the first day of June, 1796, British garrisons should be withdrawn from all posts and places within the United States. Under this treaty an American force under Captain Porter took possession of Detroit July 11, 1796. A garrison was soon after sent to Mackinaw, and Michigan was at last under the protection of the American flag.

From 1796 to 1805 Michigan was attached to other Territories. On the 15th of August, 1796, Secretary Sargent, by proclamation, organized the county of Wayne. It included the Lower, and a large part of the Upper Peninsula, a large tract across the northern boarder of the present States of Ohio and Indiana, and

a strip along the entire western shore of Lake Michigan, including the present sites of Chicago, Milwaukee and Green Bay. In all this territory, over which so many times had swept the tide of war during the previous hundred years, the only land under cultivation was the narrow border extending from the River Raisin to Lake St. Clair.

Congress organized the Territory of Michigan June 30, 1805. President Jefferson appointed General William Hull as Governor of the Territory, and he reached Detroit, July 1, 1805. He had been an officer of the Revolution, but was entirely unfitted for the duties required on the western frontier. Stanley Griswold, from Connecticut, was the first Secretary. The Judges were Augustus B. Woodward and Frederick Bates, and John Griffin became a Judge in 1806. Griswold could not agree with Hull, and Reuben Atwater, of Vermont, succeeded him at the end of three years. The history of Michigan under the entire administration of Governor Hull was one of bickerings between the Judges. When they were not at enmity among themselves, some of them were in opposition to the Governor. The whole civil and military power was in their hands; all laws were made and repealed by them. Indian troubles followed, and in the war of 1812 Detroit and Michigan passed again into the hands of the British. Mackinaw was not restored to our government until July 1, 1815.

On the surrender of Detroit, Colonel Lewis Cass, with his Ohio regiment, had been left in charge of the post. His appointment soon after as Territorial Governor was the beginning of the future of Michigan. A native of New Hampshire, he had settled at Marietta, Ohio, at the age of seventeen. After receiving a liberal education he had become a lawyer, had been a

member of the Legislature, and Marshal of the State of Ohio. He had served with courage and success through the War of 1812. Above all, from habits and training, he was familiar with the needs of the people. No man in the Northwest was better qualified to deal with the Indian. Under him the Government acquired by various treaties, all lands south of Grand River to the head waters of Thunder Bay River, as well as such as were required to make the posts at Mackinaw, and elsewhere, safe for the future.

Mackinac Island was organized as a township in 1817. Michilimackinac County was organized Oct. 26, 1818. On the same day Brown and Crawford Counties were organized, comprising the territory now in the State of Wisconsin.

Prior to the taking effect of the Ordinance of 1787, the territory now within this State was governed in civil matters by the French law, including the customs of Paris, as modified by royal edicts. They and the English statutes then in force were abolished in 1810.

It is true that the common law has been practically recognized here in most things ever since the American authorities assumed complete control, or at least ever since the Territory of Michigan was organized. But in 1810 it was found necessary by express legislation to abolish the customs of Paris, and the English, French, Canadian and Northwest Territory, and Indiana statutes and other ordinances for the reason that they did not exist in any obtainable form, and the people were liable to be ensnared by their ignorance.

That slavery existed in the Territory of Michigan as late as 1816, notwithstanding the provision of the Ordinance of 1787 that "There shall neither be slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the

party shall have been duly convicted," is evident from the legislation of the times. In an Act for the punishment of crimes, enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory, adopted and published Nov. 14, 1815, it was provided that the court, or justices before whom any Negro, Indian or Mulatto slave should be convicted of any offense, not punishable with death, should have authority to impose, instead of punishment by the Act prescribed, not extending to life or limb, such corporal punishment as such court or justices, in their discretion, should direct.

As early as 1805 an Act establishing district courts was adopted and published by the Governor and Judges of the Territory; and the district of Michilimackinac was created, with a provision that a court should be holden for the same, at such place as the marshal of the Territory should provide, on the fourth Monday of June of each year; and a description of the seals of the court is referred to in the Act.

This was followed in 1817 by an Act for incorporating the Borough of Michilimackinac by the name of "The warden, burgesses and freemen of the Borough of Michilimackinac" and providing for the election of officers and the government of the borough.

By proclamation of Governor Cass, Oct. 6, 1818, the seat of justice of Michilimackinac was established at the Borough of Michilimackinac.

The salaries paid to the officers of the counties of the Territory were not large. By a solemn Act of the Governor and Judges, adopted as late as 1821, after the formation of the later counties of Brown and Crawford, it was provided that the annual salaries of the commissioners of the counties of Michilimackinac, Brown and Crawford should be five dollars a year.

The student of history of those times will be impressed with the fact that the people were yearly more and more becoming Americanized, and were throwing off the trammels of the old feudal system.

In the same year of 1821 an Act was passed to abolish entails, to confirm conveyances by tenants in tail, and to regulate the mode of conveyances to joint tenants. And in 1815 the benefit of clergy was abolished "and forever done away."

In 1824 the government of the Territory passed from the first to the second grade. Up to that time the people had no power. It was all vested in the Governor and Judges. They now elected eighteen persons, from whom the President selected nine to act as the Legislative Council. The first Council assembled in Detroit. In the first message of Governor Cass, June 7, 1824, he fully reviewed the history of Michigan. That message is an interesting document, but our limited time will not permit us to review it.

A census was ordered in 1834, which gave a population of 87,273 inhabitants. Under the Ordinance of 1787 Michigan was entitled to admission as a State when it numbered 60,000 free white inhabitants. The Legislative Council, by an Act passed in January, 1835, authorized the people to elect on the coming 4th of April, eighty-nine delegates, who were to meet in Detroit on the second Monday of May, 1835. This convention adopted a State constitution, and adjourned on the 24th of June. This constitution was adopted by the people, and State officers were elected on the first Monday of October, 1835. As provided in the State constitution, the first Legislature met on the first Monday of November, 1835. On the 10th of November Lucius Lyon and John Norvell were elected United States Senators. After a short session,

the Legislature adjourned until the first Monday of February, 1836, hoping that before that time Congress would admit the State into the Union. In this they were disappointed. It was not until June 15, 1836, that the bill passed Congress admitting the States of Arkansas and Michigan, but with the proviso that Michigan was not to be received unless it accepted the northern boundary of Ohio, as fixed by Congress. As a compensation for this loss of territory on the southern boundary, Michigan was to receive additional territory in the Upper Peninsula as far west as the Montreal River.

It is a mistake, as commonly believed, that Michigan obtained the whole of the Upper Peninsula in the settlement of the difficulty and dispute about her southern boundary. She had already had since 1805, all lying east of an extended north and south line through the center of Lake Michigan thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States. This appears by an Act to divide the Indiana Territory into two separate governments, in Congress January 11, 1805.

Boundaries—That from and after January 30, 1805, all that part of the Indiana Territory which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend, or extreme of Lake Michigan until it shall intersect Lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of said lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called Michigan.

On July 20, 1836, at a second adjourned session of the Legislature, the election of delegates to meet in convention was provided for, to settle the question

of admission. This convention met September 26, 1836, at Ann Arbor. It rejected the terms of admission proposed by Congress. The history of the bloodless "Toledo War," more interesting than important, might be referred to, but time will not permit.

Another convention was held Dec. 4, 1836, claimed by many at the time to have been irregular and without authority. It proceeded, however, to accept the prescribed conditions of admission; the validity of its action was recognized by Congress, and by Act approved January 26, 1837, Michigan was admitted as the twenty-sixth State of the Union.

The Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory having in its fifth article, as we have seen, guaranteed to the people of the Territory of Michigan the right to form a constitution and State government whenever the requisite population should be attained, the Supreme court of Michigan afterwards held that this right could not be modified or abridged, or its exercise controlled or restrained by the General Government; and that, consequently, our first constitution, ordained in June, and ratified by the people in October, 1835, the State government organized under it and the Acts of its Legislature were all legal and valid, notwithstanding that the Act of Congress admitting the State into the Union was not passed until January 26, 1837.

In the light of this history, well may we exclaim—

"O, Michigan! In what a forge and what a heat
were shaped the anchors of thy hope."

Thus it will be seen that the changes of sovereign as well as subordinate jurisdiction have been greater in Michigan than in any other part of the American Union. France, Great Britain and the United States have successively had dominion over it; and under the

United States it was part of the Northwest Territory, and of the Territory of Indiana, before it became the Territory of Michigan. As Michigan Territory it passed through all the grades of subordinate jurisdiction, and the circumstances attending its admission to the Union made its history at that period quite unique.

This brings us to Marquette County.

The history of Marquette County is peculiarly that of the American pioneer era of the Upper Peninsula. Marquette County, her cities, villages and townships are all the result of modern enterprise and knowledge.

Marquette County was established by Act of the Legislature approved March 9, 1843, which declared that all that portion of the State between the line between ranges 23 and 24, west, the north boundary of township 41, the line between ranges 37 and 38, west, and Lake Superior, should form the county of Marquette, and be attached to Chippewa County for judicial purposes. This same Act divided the Upper Peninsula into six counties—Mackinac, Chippewa, Schoolcraft, Marquette, Ontonagon and Delta. The Act was amended in 1845, changing the boundaries of some of the counties and creating Houghton County.

The election for Marquette County was held November 4, 1851, when the following vote was recorded:

For governor, Robert McClellan..... 53
For governor, T. E. Gridley..... 8
For lieutenant governor, Calvin Britain..... 53
For lieutenant governor, Geo. H. Hazelton..... 8
For judge of probate, Philo M. Everett..... 62
For sheriff, James D. Watt..... 62
For register of deeds, Peter White..... 62

For clerk, John S. Livermore.....62
For treasurer, Charles Johnson.....62
For surveyor, John Burt.....61

C. C. Eddy and E. B. Gray were elected coroners.

This was the first election of which we have any record.

An Act had been passed, approved April 17, 1851, to perfect a separate organization for Marquette County, the townships to consist of Marquette and Carp River, and making the county board consist of the supervisors of Marquette and Carp River townships and the justice of the peace of Marquette Township whose term should soonest expire.

P. M. Everett was the first supervisor of Marquette Township, and the first record of a meeting of the board was September 13, 1852.

The first deed was recorded in the Register's office January 20, 1852, and the first mortgage July 13, 1853. The first marriage of record in the county was that of Robert Nelson and Sarah Ann Johnson, December 8, 1850, the ceremony being performed by Rev. J. Morse, minister of the gospel.

Marquette County, under the original Act creating it, embraced the present counties of Houghton, Keweenaw, Baraga, Iron and the north twelve townships of Dickinson, and all of the present territory of Marquette County, excepting towns 44, 45, 46 and 47, north of range 23 west, which were detached from Schoolcraft County and added to Marquette by an Act of the Legislature in 1875.

An examination of the early proceedings of the board of supervisors is most interesting and instructive. As tending to show the arbitrary power exercised by our honored townsman, Peter White, when county clerk in 1853, is the following: Among the claims

presented against the county we note the following entry by the clerk: "Jonathan Benson, Esq., for causing the death of a poor wolf by means of poison, after serious consideration was allowed the sum of four dollars." Then follows a pencil entry in the handwriting of Mr. White: "Never was paid, and never will be."

It is also interesting and refreshing to note the power that was by the board given to the county treasurer in the matter of refunding illegal taxes paid. At the meeting in October, 1854, we find the record of the following resolution:

"On motion it was further resolved that upon the written application of any person showing to the satisfaction of the county treasurer that such person has paid taxes which are illegal, or that were assessed to such person, on lands since surrendered back to the United States Government, or that such person paid such taxes through mistake, then and in such case the said treasurer is authorized to refund the amount so paid."

Here is a resolution that would please some of our modern justices, especially that part of it giving them authority to demand the deposit of an unlimited sum of money before commencement of suit in their courts. This resolution was adopted at the May meeting of 1857:

"Resolved, That the different justices of the peace of this county be required and directed, in all cases where any person or persons may desire to commence suits, either civil or criminal, they (any of said justices) shall require such person or persons to give good security either by bond with one or more sureties, or by placing such sum of money in the hands of such justice as he may deem safe and proper, conditioned

that such person or persons shall pay all cost of whatever nature, accruing out of, or from any such suit; provided that the said justices may deem it just and proper that such person or persons should pay such costs or damages."

But now, when "law is law," how much more justice is administered than in those early days, it is not for me to say.

The first record which I am able to find of the assessed valuation of the real and personal property was in the year 1857; in that year such valuation of property in Marquette and Schoolcraft Counties was stated to be $883,313.65.

In 1868 the valuation in the county, then consisting of the townships of Marquette, Negaunee, Ishpeming, Chocolay and Munising, was placed at $2,462,926. Last year the equalized valuation of the real and personal property of the county as now composed (much of the original territory having gone to other organized counties) was placed at the sum of $47,188,000.

That you may appreciate the changes that have taken place in the last fifty years in conditions affecting the people daily, in their social and business relations, note the following resolution passed by the board of supervisors at its August meeting in the year 1861, relating to the mail facilities of that time:

"Resolved, That the board appreciate the action of the postoffice department in ordering mail service over the whole route from Green Bay to Portage Lake via Marquette; and that we earnestly request the continuance of such service, at least twice a week during the coming winter, and for all time to come. And that in the judgment of this board a frequent mail over the whole line from Green Bay via Marquette

and Hancock to Ontonagon is imperatively required by the business of the county, and offers the only possible chance of mail connection between those points during the winter season; which connection is indispensable to the social and business interests of the iron and copper regions of Lake Superior. And that adherence to this line will secure the best general route in the shortest time.

"Resolved, That the department be respectfully informed that this board has at this date made an appropriation to secure the building of the short portions of said route not yet ready for the transmission of the mails by horses, during the ensuing winter. And this board is credibly informed that the boards of two other counties are taking steps for similar action within their limits, which will render the entire route complete.

"Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings, signed by the chairman and clerk of the board, be transmitted to the department at Washington, D. C."

* * * *

What about the future of Marquette County? Yesterday—the past, although not all we could have wished, or all it might have been, nevertheless has been good, very good indeed. But what about tomorrow? It will be largely what its business and professional men make it. The watchword should be forward, forward, in a moral, social and business sense.

MACOMB STATUE, WASHINGTON PARK, DETROIT.

National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812, State of Michigan

By Mrs. Lucy Seward Noble

Detroit

THE National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812 was founded January 8, 1892, by the late Mrs. Flora Adams Darling, to commemorate the engagements between the United States and Great Britain, beginning in 1812 and lasting till 1815.

The Society was incorporated in 1897 by an Act of Congress and approved in 1901 by President McKinley. Mrs. William Gerry Slade of New York was elected the first National President, who with the following named women were named in the Act of Congress: Mrs. Flora Adams Darling, Mrs. M. A. Ludin, Mrs. William Tod Helmuth, Mrs. Leroy Sunderland Smith, all of New York. Mrs. Edward Roby of Illinois; Mrs. Alfred Russell of Michigan; Mrs. Louis W. Hall of Pennsylvania; Mrs. William Lee, Mrs. Nelson V. Titus of Massachusetts; Miss Helen G. Bailey of New Hampshire.

When Mrs. Slade became president, there were 75 members; at the present time, 1919, there are 4,092 members in 35 States. There have been many real daughters and we still have some as honored names on the lists. For nine years the official bulletin was personally edited by the National President; the sheet now is increased in size, is a valuable document, records national, international gifts, patriotic service and pledges for democracy; here are spread the principles of liberty for which our forefathers fought and died, which now have become the beacon of all civilized peoples. In the words of our National

Anthem, peculiarly ours, because written during the War of 1812:

"Blest with victory and peace may the heaven-rescued land
Praise the Power that has made and preserved us a Nation."

The beautiful six paneled window placed in St. Michael's Church, Princetown, Dartmoor, England at a cost of $1,250 was given by our Society and unveiled by the National President in 1910. This window is to honor the 218 American prisoners who were detained in the Dartmoor War Prison between the years of 1813 and 1816, who helped to build the church and who died in the town. The King of England sent a special representative on the occasion of the unveiling: eight English Bishops and dignitaries of the country and the United States were present.

The five beautiful vases presented to the George Washington Memorial Chapel at Valley Forge bear this inscription:

To GEORGE WASHINGTON
First President of the United States
First in Peace, 1784-1799
National Society
United States Daughters of 1812
1917

These are only two of many accomplishments of the organization.

The National President for the last four years has been Mrs. Robert Hall Wiles, of Chicago, who has been an efficient and strong officer.

The National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812, State of Michigan, held its first meeting in

Detroit in 1896 at the home of Mrs. John E. King. Mrs. Flora Adams Darling, the founder of the Society, was an honored guest. The first 10 members were Miss Fanny Smith of Algonac, Mrs. John E. King, Mrs. K. S. Rainey, Miss Madeline D. King (now Mrs. Francis C. McMath), Mrs. John V. Moran, Mrs. J. T. Sterling, Mrs. J. B. Nichols, Miss Fanny Sheldon (now Mrs. Downs, of Toronto).

There have been 138 enrolled members but through death and removal there are at the present time 74 members residing in Detroit, Port Huron, Bay City, Saginaw, Adrian, Grand Rapids, Reed City, Morgan, etc. The Presidents serving the Society with great efficiency, unselfishness and enthusiasm have been Mrs. Alfred Russell, Mrs. Beatrice Larned Whitney, Mrs. John V. Moran, Mrs. James H. Campbell. The present incumbent is Mrs. Lucy Seward Noble, who with the following able corps of officers will endeavor to further the growth and usefulness of the organization.

Honorary President, Mrs. James H. Campbell of Grand Rapids

President, Mrs. Lucy Seward Noble, Detroit

First Vice-president, Mrs. S. E. Diltz, Detroit

Second Vice-president, Mrs. Jane M. Kinney, Port Huron

Recording Secretary, Mrs. Francis E. Osgood, Adrian

Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Arthur T. Brennan, Mt. Clemens

Treasurer, Mrs. Arthur E. Kiefer, Detroit

Registrar, Mrs. Carlos W. Childs, Ypsilanti

Historian, Mrs. Julia I. Poillon, Detroit

Chairman Executive Committee, Mrs. J. D. Candler, Detroit

Chairman Social Committee, Mrs. J. J. Wragovich, Detroit.

There have been 18 honored members, the real daughters of 1812 patriots, now 5 names only are on the records.

The greatest work of the Society was the raising funds for the erection of the splendid monument to Major-General Alexander Macomb, who was born in Detroit in 1772. He entered the army at the age of 27 and greatly distinguished himself in 1814 by gaining the land victory at Plattsburg. He was presented by Congress with a gold medal; in 1835 he was made Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, which position he held till his death in 1841.

The design for the monument accepted was by A. A. Weinman, a student of and co-worker with St. Gaudens and D. C. French. Mr. Weinman has designed and had erected many notable monuments for numerous cities, some of which have been statues of Abraham Lincoln, remarkable for strength and truthfulness to life. He is now living in New York City. It has been said by visiting artists that this monument is the most artistic sculpture in the city and should be cherished and preserved under all circumstances. The city of Detroit provided the site on which this monument stands, on Washington Boulevard facing Michigan Avenue.

Through the ability and enthusiasm of the ex-president, Mrs. Alfred Russell, the zeal of the president, Mrs. Whitney (now Mrs. Thomas Massey, of New York) and the very effectual assistance of Senators McMillan and Burrows, Congress appropriated 7,000 pounds of condemned cannon in April 1902, for the construction of this remarkable monument. The ceremonies at the presentation to the city were most

impressive. The principal address was given by Congressman Edwin Denby, the speech of presentation by Mrs. Beatrice Larned Whitney, the acceptance by Mayor William B. Thompson, the unveiling of the monument by Mrs. Frank Wheaton of Colorado, a niece of Major-General Macomb.

The entire cost was $12,000.

The General Isaac Shelby Chapter of the United States Daughters of 1812 of Grand Rapids was organized about two years ago and has grown into a strong local society. The patriotic work it has accomplished is truly remarkable. In the necessities of the world-wide conflict this organization of Michigan as well as those of other States, and the National Society, have entered with heart and soul into all forms of labor. They have joined the Red Cross, the National League for Women's Service, the Society for French Wounded, and they took part in the various drives, knitted many warm articles, furnished many comfort kits, assisted with surgical dressings, made hospital garments, contributed $50 to a base hospital and $125 to the Ambulance Fund. They have adopted orphans and individually as well as collectively bought Liberty Bonds. Scarcely an associated family but has sent some of the beloved members into the service field. The husband of one member has been over-seas ever since the United States entered the war; one member has three sons in service, another had three sons and three sons-in-law and herself passed into the Great Beyond while they were absent from the home circle.

According to our constitution the purpose of the organization is to carry on patriotic and historical enterprises and to further educational and benevolent undertakings. The aim is not to spend time in ances-

tor worship but to preserve ancient landmarks, honor the graves of valiant soldiers with appropriate markers, to carry on projects for the preservation, continuance and uplift of coming generations.

Instead of preaching from the old text, "Let the harvest of the past be brought to the granaries of the present," rather let us ask, Are the seeds of the present planted and suitably nourished to bring forth a full harvest for the future?

As every new member of the National Society of the United States Daughters of 1812 proclaims her faith in this Republic, she stands ready to serve the country her ancestors saved, and as she honors those ancestors, so will she honor the heroes of today who have fought for the liberty of the world.

The Forests of the Upper Peninsula and Their Place in History

By Alvah L. Sawyer

Menominee

THERE is a time for play, and there is a time for work. There are many citizens of this and other States, who, for their play-time, hie themselves to this wooded domain because they

> "Love the shadows of the forest,
> Love the wind among the branches,"

and I hope that in the interest that is being aroused in our historical work one or more will aptly describe the recreation features of our forests.

If in the discussion of my topic today there is an absence of mirth, or is found an occasional suggestion of sorrow, you can lay it to me, or to anything you please, except my subject, which is comprehensive enough to suit all natures, but too extensive to be treated more than casually on this occasion.[1] If, therefore, I am able at this time, to lend a little in the way of suggestion, and add a little to the interest that is being aroused in the historical work of the Northern Peninsula, wherein the Historical Commission and the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society are endeavoring to arouse the people to the importance of the work, and to the necessity of co-operation therein, I shall feel content, and shall hope that, in the near future, this comprehensive subject in various sub-divisions, will receive thorough treatment at the hands and by the pens of the people of this section.

1. A paper read at the first Upper Peninsula meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, held jointly with the Delta County Pioneer and Historical Society at Escanaba, October 18 and 19, 1916.

These forests are full of romance; they have had their place in fiction, filled a large space in art and architecture, and have not only furnished the foundations, but have also builded the super-structure of many mammoth fortunes,—fortunes worked out through deviating and diverging channels of commercial industry, but it is not alone in what the present eye can see that the forests of this locality find their place in history.

It is probable that history will never record the source, or the date of the beginning of the forests hereabout, and perhaps we shall never know whether or not this was a timbered country in pre-glacial times, or how soon after the recession of the glaciers the timber found foothold in our soil formation; but we do know that other forests, and probably forest after forest preceded those with which we have come into material contact. We have much evidence of the existence of forests here for several centuries, and I have personally seen where, on the removal of a very large pine stump there stood beneath it a fairly well preserved heart of a hard-wood stump of a preceding forest.

Schoolcraft, writing of the races that inhabited the country before the advent of Europeans, describes the garden beds, large areas of which were evidenced by conditions of the soil, and he says that on one of those beds, grown since the use of the bed ceased, stood a tree which when cut in 1837, had 335 cortical layers, which would carry the origin of that tree back to a date as early as 1502.

Again, the explorations of the ancient copper mines furnish convincing proofs of much earlier and long continued existence of these northern forests, for not

only were there still remaining in the mines the timbers that had been used in the processes of that early mining, but, since the abandonment of some of those mining pits, trees older by centuries than any of our forest growths have grown and fallen to decay.

In a paper read in 1874 by Mr. Henry Gillman, he says that in one case a partially decayed stump of a red oak was found on the tumulus at the edge of the pit. The tree had not fallen, but there was much of it decayed. In the sound red center remaining, there were 384 annual rings, and from this and the amount of rotten wood he figured that the growth and decay of that tree had consumed a period of more than 700 years. Putting this with the discovery of used timber in the mines would carry the timber growth of this country still farther back.

From these suggestions it is seen that there is a large field for speculation, as well as research, regarding the origin, growth, and nature of the first forests, as well as the life within the same.

Leaving that field, it will perhaps profit us more to consider the forests of which we have or can more readily find evidence, and to make record, ere it is too late, of facts pertaining to them, that future generations may read thereof.

It should be remembered that this peninsula which we now call "Cloverland" played a prominent part in early American history, for which, of course, there was a reason. There is, or should be, a reason for everything historical, and in the finding and recording of the reason rests largely the merit of the record.

The importance of this country came into early recognition because of the combination of extensive forests and vast waterways, making it the favorite

haunt for fur-bearing animals, game of many kinds, and fish in great variety and endless abundance.

In turn these conditions made this a paradise for the Indians, many of whom resided here permanently, while many more came periodically to enjoy and profit by the local advantages.

It was due to these conditions that the fur traders pushed their pioneering couriers into this then wild region to trade with the Indians and secure from them their furs and peltries, long before Europeans had set foot upon the soil of New York or Boston.

It was because of these conditions—the presence here of so many Indians—that the Jesuit Fathers risked their lives and endured untold hardships in a valiant and persevering attempt to civilize this country by Christianizing the native inhabitants, rather than to colonize it with Europeans at the expense of the natives.

And thus, as a consequence of these conditions, these two radically different elements, the fur trader purely for the love of the dollar, and the missionary through ardent devotion to Christian duty, Mackinac became and is the third oldest permanent settlement in the United States. And thus the forests, as they were found here on the first approach of white men, were prominent, if not pre-eminent in the causes that gave this locality such a great and early historical prominence; for while the Spanish settled at St. Augustine and the English founded Jamestown, the French, entering the St. Lawrence, pushed down to Montreal, and on to Mackinac, attracted thither by the opportunities which the wooded country afforded.

And no small part was it that the forests played in the lives of the inhabitants at that time. It is a pity

that no more was written of the history of those early days. Almost nothing was recorded by the traders; to the *Relations* of the Jesuits we are indebted for nearly all that was recorded,—and that for only the short period of forty years, following which there was another period of historical darkness; this northern country remained almost uninterruptedly in the possession of the Indians until less than a century ago.

We may well wish that when in 1634 Nicolet first set the foot of white man upon the soil of Michigan at the "Soo," and then skirted the eastern shore of our Peninsula, he had made record of his impressions, and of the native life, where around him stood the forests,

"Stood the groves of singing pine trees."

But what pen now shall record a tithe of what then might have been written of the beauties of lakes, forests and streams, and of the wild life that found abiding place therein.

As the tourist of today steams along our beautiful lakes, follows the woodland streams in search of finny beauties, or motors over our already noted trunk-line roads, through miles upon miles of otherwise unbroken forests changing with the changing seasons, he is absorbed by the pleasures, awed by grandeur. and exhiliarated

"With the odors of the forest,"

but far must this be from a full realization of the native grandeur, and the wild and unrestricted life that must have existed in the days when the vast forests of towering pines remained untouched by woodsman's axe.

To the Indian life as it existed here and hereabout,

the forests were an important factor, not only because of the game they sheltered which afforded them food, clothing and materials for "home" construction, but it was to the forests that resort was had for numerous articles of necessity and convenience.

"Give me of thy bark, O birch-tree,"

said the red man, and therefrom was constructed the light-running canoe, or for more enduring purposes the trunk of a bass-wood or a butternut was fashioned into a shapely dug-out, and as a propeller for either the light and sinewy ash gave up its life. Likewise the ash and hickory were the source of timber for making bows, while arrows were made from heavier wood and often from maple. To the hemlock resort was had for boughs with which to make sleep-enticing beds, while its bark was converted into fiber from which were twisted and woven lines, cords, nets, mats and hammocks. Willows and ash-splints were woven into baskets of various shapes and designs, while spoons and bowls were fashioned from basswood.

"Mockocks," for storing and carrying sugar, rice, etc., were made of birch bark sewed up with fibrous roots or cord, while "matocks" for gathering sap were likewise made but cemented with pine pitch, or they were fashioned out of soft woods, and to aid in transportation, a yoke to fit around the neck and over the shoulders was made from soft light wood, from either end of which the parcels to be carried were suspended.

The forests furnished, also, many other articles of food and of commerce among the tribes; maple sugar was made extensively. Sugar making, nutting and berrying often furnished occasion for festivals. It is recorded by Schoolcraft that on his first visit to the "Soo," three families there made four tons of maple

sugar per year, some of which was very nice and as white as Havana sugar. He also said that at times the Indians lived almost wholly on sugar. Of fruits the forests produced plums, cherries, grapes, and various kinds of berries. They also yielded butter nuts, beach and hazelnuts, and of the medicinal herbs there were sarsaparilla, ginseng, and snake root.

But it was not alone to the peaceful pursuits of Indian life that the forests made contribution; we should not forget that the "war club" was often drenched in the blood of pioneers. I would not, if I could, detract from the general tendency to bestow upon the forests most pleasurable thoughts and associations, but in full justice, history must not forget that they hold likewise tragedies; tragedies in human life and tragedies in animal life. It is probable that what may have been the first great tragedy in the experience of the pioneers will never have its details historically recorded; nevertheless a beginning in the history of our forests would not be complete without a mention of the bravery of Father Mesnard, who as the third missionery to the Lake Superior region, in July 1651 left L'Anse Bay on a mission southward to the Menominees, penetrating the unbroken forest,

"In the ghastly, gleaming forest."

Whether he met his fate at the hands of savages, who

"Lay in ambush waiting for him,"

or whether he

"In the forest deep and darksome,
Underneath the mocking hemlocks,
Fell, and could not rise from weakness,"

will probably ne'er be known to mortal man, but his

name is emblazoned forever on the rolls of those immortals who have given up their lives for the love of men.

In this very brief mention of the forests as connected with Indian and pioneer life it should be noted that notwithstanding their constant and continuous use there was no apparent destruction. It was only by contact with the commercialism of civilization that forest destruction really began, first in the animal life of the forests on the invasion by the fur traders as the first pioneers, and second, in the destruction of the forests themselves, which began about the middle of the last century when the opening to market of vast tracts of the most beautiful pine forests the world has ever known was accompanied by the application of steam to our vast waterways.

The attacks upon the animal life of the forests were probably almost continuous after the early beginning already mentioned, but for many years little was recorded thereof other than in the dollar columns of the dealers in furs; we do find that when this nation was new, in 1783 there were 2,000 people employed in the fur trade in the district which had its business center at Mackinac; as late as 1820 on Schoolcraft's map of Michigan the domain now known as "Cloverland" was labeled "Chippewa Indians," and there are no indications that up to this time there had been any recognition of forest values other than in the wild life of the forests.

As another illustration of the extent to which commercialism flourished on the life of the forests, the American Fur Company, with John Jacob Astor as its head, in 1820 did a business at Mackinac amounting to $3,000,000 in a single year; and thus, to the

forests of the Upper Peninsula and the tributary country, history should give credit for the founding of "The Astor millions," recently so potent in the financial and business world.

It was not until 1840 that land surveys of the Upper Peninsula were begun, and not until 1849 that they were finished. It was in the course of these surveys, in the forests of Marquette County, that necessity, proving itself the mother of invention, brought forth the solar compass. It may be that the mineral history will claim credit for this event, but it was within our forests, even if the minerals did cause the magnetic compass to "strike," that the solar compass became a necessity.

Upon the making of the land surveys the lands were placed upon the markets almost concurrently with the construction of the St. Mary's canal and the coming of steam transportation upon the lakes, resulting in the dawn of a period of great opportunity,—in the north, opportunity in the iron development of Marquette Range and the copper of "the Copper Country;" while to the south came the lumbering of the forests along the rivers tributary to Green Bay. And there were men to grasp the opportunities, —big men, brave men, who endured many hardships, and have received only just rewards.

To the pioneers of the country large credit is due, yet we are liable to judge them unjustly, from the viewpoint of the present rather than from that of their day. It is all too true that many great men have been and others still are subject to the same unjust methods of criticism. In discussing the merits of the pioneers it should be remembered that the pioneering of America was a new experience, that

the pioneers had no previous parallel by which to judge; and therefore let us judge them from their own viewpoint and not from ours which has been quickened and illumined by an age of wonderful invention. If, in discussing the work of our pioneers we seem to be critical let it be remembered that the criticism is not intended to be in the way of condemnation, but as a warning by way of illustration to the people of the present and the future, in order that methods of conservation may be brought more rigidly into daily business life. If we were to condemn pioneers by judging them from our viewpoint, many wise men would be condemned to the historian's dunce block. Thomas Jefferson, whose brilliancy and fame is not endangered by the criticism given to illustrate our point, as late as 1790 said that "not in a thousand years will this country be settled as far west as the Mississippi." From our viewpoint the expression is astounding, but he was far from alone in the opinion of his time.

As an illustration close at home let me cite an incident in the history of Marquette County scarcely fifty years ago. The mails were then carried from Green Bay to Marquette by dog sleds in winter and were very irregular and undependable. With a growing ambition the people took the matter in hand and secured from the department at Washington an arrangement for a dog train weekly during the winter. Being somewhat elated at this success the Board of Supervisors of Marquette County passed a resolution expressing to the Department its appreciation, and hoping that the arrangement so happily consummated would continue for all time to come. From the viewpoint of today what would the enterprising city of

Marquette think of a weekly mail service by dog trains.

And so as we consider briefly the effect of the lumbering era upon the forests of Michigan let us judge the operators by their environment, and mention the effects of their operations for the only true purpose of history, its effect upon the future.

While some timber was manufactured into lumber prior to 1850, it was practically only for local use. A saw mill was built on the Menominee in 1832 and another in 1841, while one was built at Escanaba in 1841, and one at Ontonagon in 1852, the latter having a capacity of only 5,000 feet per day, and all being insignificant affairs as compared with the mills that followed.

With the opening of the surveyed lands to the market many was the happy race to the land office, then at the "Soo," to make first entry of some choice tract of pine, and crafty and keen was the work and the skill employed in cruising for the best timber and then getting it entered before some competitor should learn thereof. There are numerous examples of men who participated actively in and endured the hardships of that frontier life, who have more recently occupied seats in legislative halls of State and Nation and enjoyed the luxuries that great fortunes afford.

In 1851 the N. Ludington Company, one of the great corporations of the Peninsula, was organized, and took over a mill that had been built at Flatrock (Escanaba) in 1844. In the succeeding decade the same company built a mill on the Menominee, and large mills were also built there by the Kirby-Carpenter Company, Ludington Wells and Van Schaick Company and New York Company, and among the incorporators

are the men we have referred to as having come later to conditions of affluence and positions of honor and great importance.

As these men started in the new lumbering industry they believed the pine of this locality to be so extensive that it would never be exhausted, and yet, in the space of less than fifty years, the mills had so increased in number and capacity that the great bulk of the pine vanished, going to meet the demands of commerce, and through the various diverging lines of business and trade playing a prominent part in the construction of many fortunes, being diffused throughout nearly the whole expanse of the world.

The possibilities of this occasion cannot compass the details of the fifty active years of pine lumbering in this Peninsula, in the various and varied branches of that industry; life in the logging camps where men toiled from dawn till dark, measuring their accomplishments not by an eight-hour yard stick, but by the possibilities of their efforts, the monotony of which was broken by the incentive of competition, and wherein the evenings were enlivened with cards, story-telling, and dancing. The garb of the "shanty-boys" would be a topic by itself, with mackinaws of most flashy hues, heavy spiked boots and chopped-off trousers. The cook and the cooking, the river-driving, and the "drives" that followed the coming down of the drive; each of these and many other branches of my topic form subjects for historical elaboration which I hope will find treatment in the system of historical research now being introduced through our schools, fostered by the Development Bureau of this Peninsula.

Avoiding most of the detail, still, to illustrate the

magnitude of the lumbering operations a few figures I trust will be pardonable, as best showing the rise and the decadence of the pine lumber industry. I am unable to learn that data has ever been assembled to show the extent of the industry in the Peninsula or in any part thereof, though at some points quite complete record has been made by the boom companies of the logs floated down the various rivers.

As Menominee River is the most prominent of the lumbering streams, we will use it for illustration, with the suggestion that while a portion of its log product came from the Wisconsin side, at the same time large quantities of logs were handled by rail, of which no record seems obtainable.

The Menominee River Boom Company has operated from 1868 to the present time and during that period has passed through its booms 10,808,749,178 feet of logs. The mind can hardly appreciate the immensity of these figures. Taking another view, and placing a fair average value of $18 per thousand upon these logs we have a total value of $194,550,000 of the rough lumber product that has floated down this one river. One hundred, ninety-four million dollars is a large sum. It is to be hoped that this computation will be carried on until a fair estimate is made and recorded of all the pine that has been cut from the whole Peninsula.

Lumbering on the Menominee reached its zenith in the year 1889, when 642 million feet of logs passed through the booms, having a probable lumber value of $11,716,000; quite a harvest for one season from one river alone. Menominee was, at that time, the largest lumber port in the world, a historical fact placed to the credit of our forests.

Since that time there have been great changes in lumbering; transportation of logs by water has been largely supplanted by rail transportation; many conservation features have been introduced in the operations of both camps and mills, reducing what was an almost criminal waste to practically a negative quantity.

In the beginning of lumbering only the best, we might say the cream of the timber was brought to the mills, and it was common to take only logs where 2, 3 or 4 sixteen-foot logs would cut a thousand feet of lumber, leaving the rest to be wasted in the fires that often cleaned up the old "choppings" and created further great waste by spreading into the surrounding timber.

As late as 1888, when the industry had almost reached its height, the logs that passed the Menominee booms averaged 192 feet each, or only a little over five logs to the thousand, while this present year of 1916 the average of the logs is 31 feet, or 32 logs per thousand feet of lumber.

From this comparison you can imagine the great waste occasioned by the early methods of logging,—and there is almost as great a change and saving in the methods of manufacture. In the days of pine lumbering no other timber was considered by the operators in pine as having any commercial value, but now that the pine has practically vanished, other varieties of timber are being manufactured, and by improved methods, and it has come to be recognized and conceded as a fact that there is as much wealth in the other timbers as there was in the pine.

There is opportunity to say much on the improved methods of conservation and preservation of our forests, and of re-forestation, but I will pass that by,

and will offer just one illustration of the change that has taken place, if not in the value, in the appreciation of the value of our standing timber. About five years ago a certain holding of timber lands in "Cloverland" was sold on an estimate that the same contained 135 million feet of timber. The purchaser has since manufactured therefrom 85 million feet, and an estimate, or measurement of the remaining timber, by modern methods, shows 200 million, or in other words, what was estimated five years ago at 135 million will actually cut 285 million, or more than double the amount figured as a basis of the sale.

Although our pine has mostly gone, lumbering has not lost its prominence, and is destined to be with us for many years yet to come. There are about 140 lumber operators—individuals and corporations—within the limits of "Cloverland," many of whom are operating on mammoth scales. I might name one concern which, last season, converted approximately forty million feet of mixed logs into nearly a million dollars worth of lumber, but accurate figures have not been assembled as to the amount or value of the product of the 140 operators.

It would be interesting to know the extent and value of the forests still with us in this Peninsula, but again there seems to be no record or even estimate thereof. From the State Tax Commission we learn that at a recent date Dickinson County possessed 175,000 acres, Iron County 366,000 acres and Gogebic County nearly 600,00 acres of valuable virgin forests, but their work has not yet been completed in any of the other counties. It has been estimated that in Schoolcraft County there still remains a billion feet of timber tributary to the mills at Manistique.

Twenty-five years ago when the large number of mills were harvesting the pine with the fury of a tempest the lumbermen came to believe that the industry would not endure beyond a future of 15 years, but of course, they only considered the pine as lumbering timber.

A few days ago one prominent lumberman expressed the opinion that lumbering would remain a prominent factor among our industries for 25 or 30 years, while another expressed his opinion that in 30 years from now lumber manufacturing in this Peninsula will have diminished 50 per cent from its present magnitude. And thus is exhibited a violent contrast between operations and opinions of the lumbermen of today and those of yesterday.

And what will it profit us to consider these things if we do not apply them, and what will a fair application teach us? That from the first contact with the white man's foot this "Cloverland" of ours has been a land flowing with milk and honey. From the forests alone came first the fortunes of the Astors; from the forests of pine, lumber barons were created who have set their marks upon many other industries of the country and upon various branches of the Government; while out of our hardwoods of today the progressive lumbermen are not only amassing fortunes, and in turn diverting them into the varied industries that assure this Peninsula a prosperous future, but they are devoting time, energy and intelligence to the promotion of those institutions that build us up and make our lives worth living. They are looking ahead, and are showing to us a beautiful picture of the "Cloverland" of the future, where as the forests gradually fade, the procession of agri-

culturists follow in the wake of the woodsman's axe and convert the wilderness of stumps into gardens of roses, into fields bountifully laden with grain, and pastures peopled with live stock, so that, instead of the milk, of the past, in the future it will be cream, and the cream and honey will flow in continuous and ever increasing volume because of the bounteous production of our rich and varied soils, varied as are the timber harvests they have produced, but each in turn rich in the possibilities of their future products; fruits, grains and grasses in endless varieties; rich in the possibilities of ornamental and floral production that shall make the farms and homes of the future compare with the grandeur and beauty of the forests of the present and past. Agriculture will become a fitting and happy successor to the forests when the days of lumbering shall be past, but let us hope and trust that in all time to come choice remnants of our beloved forests will be preserved as natural pleasure resorts, to add variety to our scenic beauty, that shall attract in increasing succession the tourists that already are enjoying in large degree our trunk-line boulevards, and, not the least, as fitting mementos to future generations.

Barry County's Contribution to the War for Democracy

By Hon. Philip T. Colgrove
Hastings

WHEN the request came from Mr. Carton to prepare a paper for this occasion,[1] I did not hesitate to accept, although I must confess that it reached me at a time when other duties were most exacting.

As a people we are beginning to feel that we are all soldiers and that obedience is one of the first requisites, and we accept many responsibilities that at one time we felt a reasonable excuse was sufficient to warrant our putting off. Almost every place in the State where I have been during the past few weeks, I have met our Mr. Carton, who, although in ill health, has been in the discharge of his official duty in a most acceptable manner. I have been impressed with the fact that he has exemplified the principle just enunciated, in the highest degree. Soon after the invitation reached me, I spent many hours in an examination of the various articles in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, to ascertain just how well Barry County and the city of Hastings had been taken care of. To my very great pleasure and astonishment, I found that they had not only been well and ably represented and that our early history and development had been looked after by able hands, but that by comparison with neighboring counties we had no apologies to offer.

To the Honorable Henry A. Goodyear, who came to

1. Read at the midwinter meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, held at Hastings, January 22 and 23, 1919.

Hastings in 1838 and who lived among us so many years, and whose work and worth were so well known, we owe much for untiring zeal in the interests of the State Pioneer and Historical Society. At the first meeting of the Society held at Lansing, April 22, 1874, Mr. Goodyear represented Barry County, and February 3, 1875 was elected its first Vice-president. As I look over the long list of delegates who attended the first meeting, I think I am correct in the statement that but one now survives. The work of preserving a record of deeds performed, privations endured and conquests made by the heroic men and women who were the pioneers of our present civilization, and to rescue from oblivion their wonderful achievements, whose constructive labors in making this commonwealth what it is today, seems to me to be without parallel in the history of the world, and to preserve such a record ought to be, and is, truly a labor of love. There may be times when we feel that this labor can be postponed or delegated to others less active in the busy affairs of today. I have a confident belief that if the men and women who indulge in this doctrine would spend a few evenings in reading some of the historic papers representing the heroic struggle and sacrifice of those who have made possible for us this "land of milk and honey," they would not only be filled with a new inspiration and zeal, but would be quite ready to lay aside some of the other important things, to the end that they might make their contribution, little though it may be, towards preserving and giving perpetual life to the labor and work of the men and women who came into our State while yet a wilderness, with absolutely none of the privileges that we enjoy today. There is

scarcely a volume of the wonderful history of the pioneers of Michigan whose pages I have not scanned during the past few days and weeks. Many of these articles read like fiction. Dr. Wells, Basil King and a hundred and one authors who are filling our magazines and libraries with new and attractive books, cannot compare in interesting narratives with such contributions as Edwin Jerome gave to this Society 41 years ago. He writes of the settlement of Saginaw in 1833. He was one of the men who surveyed the ground where both Saginaw and Bay City now stand, as well as the entire coast of Lake Huron. His story surpasses in beauty of diction almost any writer of the present day. Had it not been for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and its wonderful labor, this contribution would have been lost. Mr. Jerome lived to see his home city the third in the State, both in population and wealth. From a government surveyor who spent nine successive days with his chronometer taking observations of the sun crossing the meridian to determine the latitude and longitude of the mouth of the Saginaw River, he became one of Michigan's most honored citizens.

Mr. Charles D. Little, of Saginaw, whom I knew personally and well, has given to us the completed history of Mr. Harvey Williams, who came to Detroit in 1815 and built his blacksmith shop where the Pontchartrain Hotel now stands. He tells us how he purchased and set up the first stationary engine ever used in Michigan, and received from Mr. Williams' own lips the story of Detroit from that early date, when he, Mr. Williams, pumped the water through a 3-inch pipe for the citizens of Detroit for the magnificent sum of $500 per year. Mr. Little gives to

us the history of how in the fall of 1842 Mr. Williams made a trip to Saginaw, bringing tons of supplies to the troops after an eight day struggle in the wilderness, fording rivers and following practically an impassable road. The Government troops at Saginaw were famishing and had been without food for two days.

It is through the efforts of this organization that we have the permanent record of the building of the first sawmill in Saginaw, and in passing I might say that this city at one time was the largest manufacturer of lumber of any city on the face of the globe.

I feel that I have spent too much time in the reading of these articles that surpass in interest the works of fiction today to devote myself consistently to the subject assigned me; the temptation is too sore to pass by unnoticed the wonderful article contributed to the Society by John D. Pierce, our first Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1836. There is no one subject so close to the hearts of us all as our public school system. What a glorious recollection it is to know that our pioneers who built up this State, while poor in purse, had come to us from the best families of the East and brought with them an undying zeal to build even here among the trees and forests the school house. We often speak of our Superintendent of Public Instruction. How many of us know that Michigan was the first State in the Union to have a Superintendent of Public Instruction? Mr. Pierce was appointed by Governor Mason in 1836 and confirmed at the first meeting of the Legislature after we were admitted to statehood. What a fortunate thing it is that we started this great system right. Mr. Pierce did not rely upon his own ability, but immediately after he was appointed

he visited five of the eastern States, the presidents of colleges and the most advanced educators of the time. Before he made his report, which as a matter of fact, is the foundation of our magnificent school system, he had spent many weeks and months in making the circuit of practically all of the eastern States whose colleges and institutions of learning had become recognized. The great University at Ann Arbor, acknowledged to be one of the greatest universities of all time, we owe in a very large degree to the first Superintendent. It seems almost incredible that as early as 1838 there were extant a half dozen organizations or societies all asking the Legislature for a franchise recognizing them as a university founded by the State, with authority to confer degrees. Mr. Pierce stood for one central State university. At the first session he lacked one vote of making this plan a law. He immediately took up with every university extant this most important question. Every known educator in the land was appealed to and asked to state his position as to whether Michigan should start with one great central university, or whether the plan of many small universities scattered about the State, should be adopted. Fortunate for us, indeed, that the great educators of that day were agreed upon this subject! The University at Ann Arbor tells the story. Mr. Pierce's struggle, however, did not end here. Forty-eight thousand acres had been set aside to establish a university. The lands were to be selected from any part of the State. We had plenty of land in those days. Mr. Pierce, to his dismay, found however, that the committee on buildings were about to adopt a plan of a Connecticut architect which would cost the State to construct,

in round numbers, half a billion dollars. In other words, our entire appropriation would have gone into a building, with nothing to maintain a university. This struggle was long and bitter, but again our first Superintendent of Public Instruction won out. What a contribution is this wonderful article setting forth this historical struggle! Is it worth while to do our part in perpetuating these records?

I suggested in the beginning of this address that I was proud of the contributions giving the early history and struggles of the pioneers of Barry County. I have read with profound admiration an article contributed by the Honorable James A. Sweezy, who has given to us a complete history of the Bar of Barry County. No one could have contributed such an article so well as James A. Sweezy. He tells us of the history of every lawyer from the first attorney who came here in the year 1840. The history is complete for fifty years following. With the exception of a very few, it was my privilege to know these men and how true Mr. Sweezy has been in his delineation of character.

Leaving my own profession I have turned my attention to the churches to see whether they have been properly cared for. I have read the article contributed by the Honorable Daniel Striker, Secretary of State at one time, and who I think still has the honor of being the only man from Barry County to enjoy the distinction of being an official of the great State of Michigan. I think it is safe to say that Mr. Striker must have spent many months in the preparation of the article entitled, "The History of the Methodist Church in Barry County for 50 Years." It is not only a history of the Church, but it is the history of

the men who built the foundation very largely for the county in which we live. I have read this article more than once. In the midst of its reading I stopped and asked many questions. For instance, I would read of a quarterly meeting held at the Holmes Church in Woodland, adjourning to meet for the next quarterly meeting at a school house in Yankee Springs, a distance of perhaps 30 miles, no roads, few bridges. Think of these families traveling this distance in ox carts and on foot over almost impassable roads, and yet when the roll was called, the answer was invariably, "Here." I read many times the annual report of the treasurer. The amount that they were able to raise to support the minister and his family rarely reached $150 a year, and was often less than $100. It is almost pathetic to review these early proceedings. Mr. Mudge and Mr. Barnum, who were then active and practically the backbone of the church during those days, became in after years what we commonly understood as well-to-do, even wealthy, farmers. In those days, however, while they had plenty of land, like all the rest, they were lacking in cash. I have read with profound interest the contribution of Mrs. Hoyt, a daughter of Yankee Lewis. I am told that this is the anniversary of her coming to the city of Hastings, 68 years ago, a bride. As I have read her contribution, making permanent the history of Yankee Springs, I am lost in admiration. Lewis Cass was twice the guest of her father in the little hotel in Yankee Springs. Nothing remains now to tell the story of this once wonderful and historical spot in Barry County. I never pass this deserted place but what I think of Zachariah Chandler and Lewis Cass the guests of its proprietor at various

times. Mrs. Hoyt tells us of an incident when Barry County celebrated for the first time July Fourth. For each State that had been admitted into the Union a young lady had been selected, dressed in white, all wearing sashes of red, white and blue, and each lady honored with a yoke of oxen and a wagon or cart, forming a most wonderful procession. Many of the older citizens of Barry County have referred with pride to the fact that they or their fathers were present at this celebration. Surely we are indebted to Mrs. Hoyt for this wonderful contribution.

I have read with interest also the article written by Mr. Cherry of Johnstown, who indeed represented Barry County at the first meeting ever held by this Society. Indeed, I find that every township, city and village has been faithfully represented and its early history recorded.

Many of the early writers who have made contributions to this Society often expressed a regret that so many years had elapsed before recording events which had become but mere memories. This county, I think, has never failed to do its duty and its full duty in every great emergency. I have searched in vain to find a satisfactory record of the contribution we made in the great struggle during the sixty's, or the Civil War. It is true our history has been preserved like every other country, and in the records of the State by research we can find most of the things desired. It occurred to me that Barry County's contribution to the Great War could be compiled better now than perhaps at any future day. The record is so glorious that although I cannot hope in the time assigned me to complete the story of its contribution, it is my desire to attach to this paper

schedules giving facts and figures of our various activities that may be of interest in the years to come.

Many of our boys on return from "Over There" or homeward bound, say that they have noticed about halfway a change in the atmosphere, and that they have the feeling that must have inspired our Pilgrim Fathers when they sighted land. I often feel that it must be a wonderful experience for our boys returning westward on the great ships plowing the Atlantic. Someone has said that "Going eastward is like going back to beginnings, the things lived, the things over and done with. That going westward, all is hope. It is the lifting of the hands, the straining of the power to achieve, the yearning of the inner man. The thing that is finished is left behind and the thing to wrestle with is in the front." The very sun goes before one with a gesture of beckoning, on to work, on to self denial, on to triumph and success, and we never see it set but with the feeling that it has a promise of a tomorrow. This is America. It is Roosevelt's America—Single Track Americanism. There are many conceptions of what a true and lasting memorial to our Soldier dead should be. Let me give you a few I have gleaned from the press.

"Shafts of marble and granite, the names of our soldier-dead thereon; stately edifices raised to their memory; their names and deeds carved on tablets of copper, silver and gold—these are our feeble attempts to honor them to whom every earthly homage is due.

"These memorials shall again and again quicken our gratitude, our love, our adoration of their supreme service to us and to mankind for the ages to come." Again:

"The day will dawn when a more highly developed

race of men will turn back the pages of history, will read of the Marne, of Chateau-Thierry, of the battlefields where Liberty threw down the gage of death to Kultur, and those better and wiser men of that future era will say: 'Here was the real turning point in the history of the world.' To these who fought with never a thought of self; to them who here eagerly laid down their lives that the Freedom of Man should not perish from the earth, we owe the peace, safety and happiness of the world."

"We men and women of today have prided ourselves on our patriotism. We have invested in Liberty Bonds, the safest investment on earth, with absolutely certain and good returns. We have worked in shipyard and factory providing the means of battle for our soldiers, for all of which we received more than ample and ordinary pay."

"We have knitted, stitched, sewed, gathered and distributed and talked much, not omitting to speak frequently of our indubitable and magnificent patriotism.

"We invested much. We gave little. We suffered some inconvenience, economic and otherwise. We did not fail to complain bitterly of this. It was our patriotic duty to complain! Why should we suffer here at home, surrounded by American plenty, American institutions, American patriotism, and thousands of miles removed from the dangers of the battlefields?"

They who fought and gladly offered themselves unto death were not even conscious of their patriotism. Their only thought, the consuming fire of their souls, was to make every nerve, every ounce of muscle and every drop of blood count to the uttermost before

eternal darkness closed about all things earthly for them.

So they fought and died. While yet living they were too modest to speak of their patriotism and were abashed to hear others speak of their deeds.

"Thousands strong, our own boys, our soldiers, saviors of our fireside peace and enduring happiness, they march today in the peaceful fields of light beyond. But they beckon and call ever to us: Follow, follow, carry on! Give yourself to mankind! Serve to the uttermost! Live and strive today for the good of humanity, for tomorrow ye also shall join our throng!"

How shall we truly memorialize them? What would they most care to have us do or say? What less have they the right to wish for or ask of us than that we, the living, should count our lives, as they did, a gift from mankind to be given back again in self sacrifice unwavering to the end?

Their deeds, by which they gave all, are the foundation, solid and secure, of enduring peace on earth, justice among men. But we who must build the superstructure shall build truly and well only by the one law and rule of that ideal and spirit with which they fought and died. "And such a structure, builded by us in perfect spiritual kinship to them, can be the only true memorial to our loved and honored."

"They offered and gave all. We shall stand condemned and ashamed in the presence of that vast assembly of martyrs of Freedom and Justice if we fail to catch their vision and spirit and enshrine it at the very heart of life."

While we wait patiently for a more suitable expression of a people's gratitude which may perhaps be expressed in granite and bronze as shall hereafter

be determined, is it not nevertheless most appropriate that now and at this, the first after-the-war meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, to put into enduring form so far as is possible, the work and labor of the great army of willing soldiers who were in the trenches at home and who were not permitted to share with our boys in their noble sacrifices and heroic struggles in Flanders fields? The heroic services of the women of Barry County, aided and assisted by the loyal men, will ever remain one of the bright pages in the history of Barry County. For the schedules hereto annexed I am under lasting gratitude to Mrs. Jason McElwain, Mrs. W. M. Stebbins, Mr. W. N. Chidester, Mr. Kellar Stem and Mr. Morris Lambie.

Red Cross

Over Seas

Miss Stella Parrett, a Red Cross nurse.

Miss Nonna Michael and Miss Amber Cruse are also Red Cross nurses in this country.

BARRY COUNTY CHAPTER

Organized May 20, 1917.

Officers 1917 and 1918.

Chairman, Geo. R. Hyde
Vice Chairman, Mrs. Jason E. McElwain
Secretary, Kellar Stem
Treasurer, H. G. Hayes
Headquarters, Hastings, Michigan.

Branch Organization:

One in each of the 16 townships, these being in reality a replica of the Chapter, with similar officers and committees.

Each township also has a Director, who is the highest Red Cross authority in his respective township.

Branch organizations have several auxiliaries or sewing clubs working under their supervision. Nearly 100 of these clubs have worked diligently at sewing and knitting for nearly two years. Twelve hundred women are included in the above.

Data 1917-1918.

Membership.....8,000 yearly
Receipts.....$45,277.50
Disbursements..... 42,510.98

Shipments 1917-1918.

Manufactured and shipped the following:
Garments, 19,379.

This includes hospital garments and supplies, also refugees' clothing, viz. pajamas, day shirts, bed shirts, dress skirts, petticoats, dresses, boys' suits, sheets, pillow cases, underwear, convalescent's robes, etc.

Knitting 5,301:

Wristlets, sweaters, socks, helmets and mufflers.

Surgical dressings, 28,935.

In addition to the above shipments, the Chapter has twice cooperated with the Commission for Relief in Belgium, in the collection of used clothing of all kinds, for suffering Belgians.

Results:

Cases 44. No. garments, 12,235. Weight, 10,465.

Cooperating with the War Industries Board in the conservation plans, several hundred pounds of tin foil were collected and shipped for retinning.

Also four tons of nut shells and fruit pits were collected and shipped for use in the manufacture of carbon for gas masks.

Christmas Parcels:

To relieve the postoffice employees of the Christmas congestion, Chapters were requested by the Government to inspect and ship all boxes to boys overseas. There were 228 shipped from Barry County. Cooperation with the Government is the slogan of the Red Cross.

Canteen:

Very little along this line has been necessary owing to the location of the County geographically,—no troop trains passing this way. All drafted and enlisted men were given some courtesy in the way of a supper, confectionery or an evening at the vaudette.

Home Service:

Very extensive work has been done under this head, which is the care of soldiers' families, until "he comes home." Over a hundred cases have already been under investigation.

In no county can the Red Cross spirit exceed that which exists in Barry, viz. the spirit of willing sacrifice and splendid cooperation. Their splendid loyalty to the organization has made the above a possibility.

The county takes pride in the fact that its immense business has been carried on with a very small overhead expense. The volunteer spirit has predominated. There is only one paid employee. The enormous correspondence has been carried on by volunteer stenographic service. Lights are donated, and for the first year and a half telephone rental, janitor service, office rent, etc. were also a donation. Office and work room furnishings are a loan for the period of the war.

What a record! Should not these facts, this history of self denial and untiring zeal be made a permanent

record? All Barry County may well be proud. That it will serve as an inspiration to future generations, I doubt not. After all, we are but pioneers. Those who shall come after us in a hundred years hence will marvel at our crude methods, but they will find a history of devotion to country rarely equalled.

LIBERTY LOANS

FIRST LOAN

(Only the totals are available)

Township	No. of Subscribers	Quota	Subscriptions
	1,099	$287,916	$351,200

SECOND LOAN

(Barry County's quota was $352,230 or $587,050)

Township	No. of Subscribers	Quota	Subscriptions
Assyria		$26,975	$27,700
Baltimore		26,070	21,100
Barry		33,475	41,700
Carlton		36,080	26,500
Castleton		59,768	76,850
Hastings Twp.		26,097	26,900
Hope		22,564	22,550
Irving		30,220	41,500
Johnstown		26,887	22,750
Maple Grove		32,791	15,650
Orangeville		19,429	13,700
Prairieville		35,102	42,250
Rutland		21,203	11,500
Thornapple		43,071	38,350
Woodland		50,539	54,500
Yankee Springs		11,055	7,350
Hastings City		87,261	230,150
	2,700		$721,000

Third Loan (County's quota $347,640)

Township	No. of Subscribers	Quota	Subscriptions
Assyria		$15,892	$16,900
Baltimore		15,359	17,150
Barry		19,722	31,900
Carlton		21,956	25,150
Castleton		35,212	56,850
Hastings Twp.		15,669	19,600
Hope		13,329	17,050
Irving		17,804	22,050
Johnstown		15,840	18,050
Maple Grove		19,318	20,950
Orangeville		11,446	15,250
Prairieville		20,692	23,400
Rutland		12,492	13,950
Thornapple		25,271	39,650
Woodland		29,775	50,550
Yankee Springs		6,454	6,700
Hastings City		51,409	88,200
	2,448		$483,350

Fourth Loan (County's quota, $638,000)

Township	No. of Subscribers	Quota	Subscriptions
Assyria			$24,650
Baltimore			27,850
Barry			40,950
Carlton			23,950
Castleton			81,550
Hastings Twp.			24,100
Hope			25,000
Irving			31,350
Johnstown			24,450
Maple Grove			29,750
Orangeville			19,350
Prairieville			44,500
Rutland			15,750
Thornapple			63,650
Woodland			64,200

Township	No. of Subscribers	Quota	Subscriptions
Yankee Springs			$5,850
Hastings City			193,900
Other sources			11,350
Total	4,351		$752,150

(In the Fourth Loan, quotas were not issued to the townships, as the campaign was conducted on the individual volunteer plan).

Regarding Barry County's quota for the Second Loan, I have only recently been informed by Mr. Fenton, Federal Reserve Director of Sales for Michigan, that there were two quotas assigned, of which the minimum was $352,230, while the quota assigned to this county at the time of the campaign was $587,050, the maximum quota, and I was assured that there was to be no minimum. Based on the smaller amount, our over-subscription for that loan would be over 100 per cent, instead of 23 per cent; but even taking the larger quota we passed all other counties in the State in the amount of our over-subscription.

Very sincerely yours,
W. N. CHIDESTER,
Chairman Barry County
Liberty Loan Committee.

W. S. S.

January 7, 1919.

Mr. P. T. Colgrove,
Hastings, Mich.

My dear Mr. Colgrove:

Replying to your favor of the 6th asking for information relative to the War Savings Stamp program.

Permit me to state that there is very little to write

regarding this matter. The State Quota Committee requested us to raise $377,360 maturity value. It having been explained to the citizens of Barry County that this amount was expected of them in Thrift Stamps and War Savings Certificates, they immediately proceeded to comply with the request which is in accordance with their practice in patriotic duties of this sort.

I am pleased to be able to advise you that the full quota for the year 1918 has been paid in cash through the various post-offices and banks of this county.

Personally, I do not claim or desire any great amount of credit for this work. Mr. John Dawson is really entitled to the larger measure of credit owing to the fact that he immediately proceeded to inaugurate a vigorous campaign through the rural post-offices long before I was appointed County Chairman, and in consequence of the splendid start that Mr. Dawson had, it was a small matter indeed to complete the quota.

A recent communication from Mr. Hubbard, State Director of the War Savings propaganda, would indicate that Barry County was the only one in the State which had raised its quota.

Very truly yours,

KELLER STEM.

WAR WORK DONE BY THE EMILY VIRGINIA MASON CHAPTER DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE PEOPLE OF HASTINGS AND BARRY COUNTY

Voted sponsorship of Barry County men in service. Decorated all County Registrants with badges and passed out copies of President's War Proclamation, June 5, 1917. Decorated cars and joined in seeing

away first contingent of soldiers from the county. Wrote over 1,100 letters to men in service. Made an historical and war record of the soldiers and sailors from Barry County. Sent over 300 knitted garments and 60 comfort kits to individual Barry County boys. Mailed about 250 packages of magazines to our boys over-seas. Sent 30 joke books to hospitals.

Cooperated with Woman's Division Council National Defense in having vacant land planted and in effecting exchange of seeds and plants in the spring of 1917.

In 1917 adopted two French orphans, Emile and Leontine Bonzac of Solignac in the Department de la Haute Loire. Renewed the support of these children for this year and sent them a Christmas gift of $10, making $157 sent to them.

Under Mrs. Potter, Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Anderson 2,441 garments have been sent to the children of devastated France, on which the postage and express has been $35. The sum of $50 in money has been sent to Relief Societies in France. One hundred sets of patterns have been given out in the county. A branch of this work has been started in Nashville, 25 organizations and many individuals in Barry County have been interested in the work of sewing for French children. Funds have been supplied through small contributions and through the salvage sale held in October at which time $216 was raised. Sixty glasses of jelly have been sent to Camp Custer. Forty-eight glasses were sent to New York, also knitted articles for wounded Michigan men. Contributed to hot chocolate fund at Selfridge Field and to mending hut at Camp Custer. Sent 16 knitted garments to the U. S. S. Paul Jones.

Contributed $25 toward amount of 4th Liberty

Loan taken by the National Society D. A. R. and voted $15 more. Contributed $30 to Red Cross Fund and made an equipment for one patient at a cost of $25. Assisted with Red Cross sewing and in surgical dressing.

Gave 175 garments for Belgian relief.

THE BOYS WHO SERVED

Number of men in service from Barry County.

Approximately 600 men were in the service and about 250 saw over-seas service.

List of Casualties:

Lieutenant Reuben Paschal, in action
Lieutenant Lawrence Bauer, in accident two days after war closed
Leo Miller, Middleville, in action
Harold Powers, Nashville, disease
Clare Harvey, Nashville
John A. Dodds, born in Hastings, disease
Clarence A. Euper, Woodland, disease
Howard John Moulton, Freeport, disease
Grover Madison Lancaster, disease
Montford M. Baggerley, Assyria, disease
Orville Stocking
Merle Hinckley, Nashville

Known Wounded:

Sergeant Orlie Bishop.
Arthur Gallup
Sergeant Harry Brown
William Fifield
Oscar Kuempel
Ezra Townsend
Edwin Loop
Hobart Thomas

James W. Gross
Burdette Swartout
Kendall Merlau
Charles Vandenburg
Earl Benner
Ross Garlinger
Ernest Collins
Fred Stafford
Floyd Miller (Lost a leg)
Smith Sherman
Densmore Babcock

Gassed:
Elwood Battin
Henry Eggleston
Earl Wood

Discharged because of Sickness contracted in Camp:
Gale Saunders, Hastings
Andrew Thomas, Woodland, lost power of speech.

LIST OF OFFICERS FROM BARRY COUNTY

Brigadier-general A. D. Kniskern
Commander George Rock
Commander James Ackerson
Lieutenant Colonel Gladeon Barnes
Lieutenant Colonel Emil Tyden
Major Homer Washburn
Major S. M. Fowler
Sergeant Major George Bessmer
Sergeant Major Sherman Clark
Captain Clayton Schray
Captain E. M. Dodds
Captain Phil Kniskern
Captain George W. MacKay

Lieutenant Walter Phelps
*Lieutenant Lawrence Bauer
Lieutenant Leo Wing
*Lieutenant Reuben Paschal
Lieutenant Robert S. Marshall
Lieutenant Walter Harper
Lieutenant Curtis Bottum
Lieutenant David Goodyear
Lieutenant Philo Otis
Lieutenant (Dr.) W. A. Singleton.

The list of non-commissioned officers is a long one but their names I am unable to obtain with certainty.

Proud as we are of every department of service representing war activities in Barry County, during these days of stress and anxiety, we should not overlook the Barry County Loyalty League. Contributions which have been made to this organization, large indeed, as will be shown by the figures, have been made most cheerfully, and as I am told by the treasurer, Mr. Lambie, absolutely without complaint and always with a spirit of patriotic devotion. This large sum has been given with the knowledge that it is not to come back or any part of it. Unlike the War Stamps and Liberty Bonds, which are not only safe but the best of investments, the monthly pledges to the Barry County Loyalty League represent in each instance the true measure of devotion of the giver to his country and the trying needs of the hour. The treasurer advises me that they have paid and accepted all quotas assigned to Barry County by the Young Men's Christian Association, the Red Cross and the Michigan Patriotic Fund; that they are in position to pay all demands. These pledges will continue until January 1, 1920, and at that time they

will not only cease, but we will have a record unsurpassed by any county in Michigan. As I recall it, Lenawee and Barry Counties were the first to establish what is called the War Chest Fund.

The treasurer has furnished me the following, which will not fail to be of interest.

ORGANIZATION

At a meeting held at Hastings, November, 1917, by the Directors of the several townships, villages and cities of Barry County, the present organization, known as the Barry County Loyalty League, was formed.

The purpose of this organization is to sustain the War Work of the Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. and to aid the American Soldiers and Sailors, etc.

MEMBERSHIP

Each person contributing to the League not less than 25 cents per month thereby becomes a member.

The first drive for members in November, 1917, showed 2,500 contributing at the rate of $30,000 per year.

The second drive, May 1, 1918, showed an increase of 3,500 members, making a total contribution to the War Work Fund of $60,000 per year, and a total membership of 6,000.

All pledges payable monthly in advance. This organization automatically goes out of existence Jan. 1, 1920. All pledges are made to that date.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The following Executive Committee of seven members was elected by the Directors November 1, 1917.

E. E. Faulkner, Delton
L. W. Feighner, Nashville
Dr. C. S. McIntyre, Woodland
W. R. Harper, Middleville
M. L. Cook, Hastings
A. E. Johnson, Hastings
M. A. Lambie, Hastings

The following officers were chosen:

M. L. Cook, President
L. W. Feighner, Vice-president
A. E. Johnson, Secretary
M. A. Lambie, Treasurer
Mrs. Nora Heath, Assistant Treasurer.

The officers of the League have served entirely without compensation with the exception of Mrs. Heath, who has acted as collector and bookkeeper and has devoted her whole time.

The following township collectors were appointed to aid the Treasurer in the collection of funds in the several townships:

Assyria.....F. E. Schroder, Assyria Center
Baltimore.....Leonard Oswald, Dowling
Barry.....E. E. Faulkner, succeeded by J. D. Sedgwick, Delton
Carlton.....J. G. Carpenter, Carlton Center
Castleton.....David Kunz, succeeded by Miss Edith Fleming, Nashville
Hastings Twp.....Mrs. Nora Heath, Hastings, Asst. Treas.
Hope.....Arthur Patton, Cloverdale
Irving 1.....L. R. Wolcott, Freeport
Irving 2.....E. E. Warner, Irving
Johnstown.....W. R. Grayburn, Lacey & C. R. Tungate, Banfield
Maple Grove.....Ora D. Condon, succeeded by Miss Edith Fleming, Nashville

Orangeville.....Philip Merlau, Delton R. F. D.
Prairieville.....Marshall Hughes, Prairieville Village
Rutland.....A. G. Hathaway
Thornapple.....G. D. Whitmore, Middleville
Woodland.....Lawrence Faul, Woodland
Yankee Springs....Mark Ritchie, Bowens Mills
City of Hastings...Mrs. Nora Heath, Assistant Treasurer.

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS JAN. 1, 1919

Receipts January 1, 1918 to January 1, 1919

By Membership Dues:

Assyria Township	$2,066 34	
Baltimore Township	1,794 04	
Barry Township	2,412 95	
Carlton Township	2,170 02	
Castleton Township	6,462 83	
Hastings Township	1,726 77	
Hope Township	1,460 48	
Irving Township	2,319 86	
Johnstown Township	1,986 27	
Maple Grove Township	2,069 74	
Orangeville, Township	1,584 83	
Prairieville Township	3,212 95	
Rutland Township	1,561 42	
Thornapple Township	3,596 49	
Woodland Township	5,141 72	
Yankee Springs Township	454 75	
City of Hastings	12,327 90	
		$52,349 36
Contributions		758 05
Junior Loyalty League, school children		960 29
Total receipts to January 1, 1919		$54,067 70

DISBURSEMENTS

To Administrative Expenditures:

Salary and Wages	$636 62	
Postage, printing and stationery	1,084 35	
Rents	60 00	
Telephone and telegraph	18 55	
Miscellaneous	165 78	
		$1,965 30

To Expenditures for Relief:

To Red Cross	$26,343 00	
Y. M. C. A.	6,500 00	
Mich. Patriotic Fund	5,000 00	
Smileage Books	350 00	$38,193 00
		$40,158 30
Total cash on hand January 1, 1919		13,909 40
		$54,067 70

M. A. Lambie, Treasurer.

As I read the wonderful and proud record of Barry County's activity in this, the greatest of all the world's wars, the last heroic struggle to make men free wherever the sun shines, may we not recall the words of our own Eddie Guest:

MAN AND LATHE

I'm standing at my lathe all day
And this is what I hear it say:
"The best of you, the best of me
Are needed now across the sea.
We do not hear the cannon roar,—
No aeroplane comes sailing o'er
Our heads, and yet from day to day
We too, are soldiers in the fray.

"Oh, hand that guides me now, be true,
A mighty task is mine to do.
'Tis time to shape and cut the steel,
With every turning of my wheel.
I'm building for that better day
When tyranny shall pass away.
Speed up! Speed up! This thing I make
May save a thousand lives at stake."

I whisper to my lathe: "Be strong,
We toil today to right a wrong.
Some of us march to fife and drum,
My music is your busy hum,
And this is the hymn you sing to me,
Always, 'My Country, 'Tis of Thee',
This very day, this very hour
We'll serve the flag with all our power."

"Oh lathe of mine, across the sea
They need the work of you and me!
They will be fine if we be true,
They'll hold the line if we but do
This task that now to us is set,
Let's keep the faith and not forget!
Speed up! Speed up! Across the sea
Our soldiers wait on you and me."

As I look at the work you have accomplished, I feel that every man and woman in Barry County was inspired by these words.

How fittingly the same author writes a closing thought for this paper, showing the result of our long struggle and days of anxiety and suffering. Has our contribution been worth while? Listen.

THE CHANGED PRUSSIAN

He isn't jolting women off the side-
walks any more,
His chest's a trifle flatter than it's
ever been before.
There are smiles upon the faces of the
humbler folks he's kicked,
And the world is feeling better now the
Prussian knows he's licked.

His head is much deflated since we've
brought him to his milk.
He isn't loudly bragging that he's of
the royal ilk.
He's willing now to listen to what
others have to say,
And the Prussian isn't strutting in his
high and mighty way.

He's dodging private soldiers that for
years he has abused,
He is taking off forever that old
clanking sword he's used.
Oh, the time was he imagined all the world
to him must bow,
But the Prussian's had his lesson, and
he's very humble now.

It's a very different Prussian that
men look upon today
Than the one that used to jostle other
people from his way.
Do not fear him, little children, without
hitching he will stand,
Since the Allied boys have tamed him, he
will eat out of your hand.

This is but a part of our compensation.

Some Place Names in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and Elsewhere

By William F. Gagnieur, S. J.

Sault Ste. Marie

THE PURPOSE of this commentary is to call attention to certain (as I believe) incorrect origins of place-names in Chapter 22, Vol. II, of the late lamented Edwin O. Wood's valuable contribution to the history of the Upper Peninsula, entitled *Historic Mackinac.*

Doubtless some of these errors are due to lack of opportunity for close investigation, and hence to recourse to an *a priori* decision as to what the name should mean philologically, with a danger of misconstruing the components of the word or of otherwise being deceived.

Algonquin. I shall merely add that the Algonquins call themselves *Omamini-winiwag*, the meaning of which I do not know, and also (those around Lake Nipissing at least) *Otishkwagamig*, i. e., "those of the last lake," or "those at the end of the lake."

Beaver Islands. *Amikokendad* should be (Indians call it thus, and so does Bishop Baraga) *Amikokenda*, "The home of the beavers." Although the word is composed clearly enough of *amik* (beaver) and *endad* (his home), still, in composition becoming a single word or a name (especially a proper name), the last consonant is dropped.

Canadian. *Monyia-Winini.* It is a corruption of Montreal (French) pronounced approximately "Mongrayal;" and as there is neither the letter "r" nor "l" in the Algic tongue, it becomes *Monian* or *Monia*;

nine is "man." Usually, in the United States especially they use the older and better word for a Frenchman (France or Prov. Quebec). *Wemitigozh*, "man of the wooden boat."

Carp River. It should be *Nikik-onigami*, that is, "Otter Portage."

Chicago. In Indian, *Chicagong*, "place of the skunk." There is another form to be found occasionally, in some old writers, and once in a while heard from very old Indians, viz: *Chicagomenang*, or *Chicagomena*; meaning practically the same as *Chicagong*. This does away with the futile efforts of certain writers to derive the name from *Chicago-winzh*, or "place of the wild onion,"—the more so as the wild onion is called *Maminigabawi*,—and the common table onion *Chicagowinzh*, or "skunk vegetable," on account of the strong odor.

Chippewa. A sandy point four miles from Little Traverse Bay. *Bitobeygonge* should be *Bitobigong*, the name used (with *kitchi*, great) for Grand Marais, both in Michigan (U. P.) and in Minnesota. The translation is correct, though the *ong* being locative, the name is *Bitobig* or *Kitchi-bitobig*.

Cloche Island. "La cloche," in French, —I will merely add, supposed to be Nanabosho's Kettle. *Assin medweweg*, not *Madweweg*, is an Ottawa rendering.

Cold Spring. *Taukee-beeing*, derived from *Takibi*. Translation correct. In locative, *Takibing*.

Detour. See my paper of July, 1918, in this Magazine. *Twedin*, correct translation of the Detour in Delta County. *Giwideononing* in Chippewa County, not *Giwedeoonaning*. Neither is it the mouth of the river,—nor does it imply "sailing," but merely going around in a boat.

DRUMMOND ISLAND. This whole paragraph is untenable. I even doubt if *Potigan* or *Bodigan* is an ancient form of *Potagan*. Today at least, the accent in *Bodagan* (a mortar) is (in the verb and in the compound) transferred to the second syllable, whereas the name of Drummond Island, *Potaganissing* is invariably pronounced with the accent on the first syllable. In any case it is hard to see what resemblance could be found sufficient to give a name to the Island, and no Indian ever hints at any such origin,—at least not today.

GOOSE ISLAND. *Nikik-miniss*. See above paper, where I show that the real name is *Nadawaning*.

LES CHENEAUX. *Anaminang*. See above paper, in which this name is treated in detail. Here is confounded an adverb (*anamina*) with a place (*Anaminang*). This derivation seems to be due to a fertile imagination.

MANITOU PAYMENT. See my paper for fuller explanation.

MOCCASIN. The explanation here given does not fit in very well, for the Indian word is *Makisin*, and can hardly be derived from *Magonan*, "to press."

MANITOULIN ISLAND. *Manitowaning*. This is not correct, as *Manitowaning* is only one spot and a Bay on that very large Island. Manitoulin may be from *Manitouwalin*, for *Manitouwaning*,—this may possibly be right,—but still it is open to argument.

MICHILMACKINAC. "At the great uplifted bow," name for Arch Rock (and hence name for whole island, etc., etc. This is wrong, as anyone reading my paper (under Mackinac Island) can see for himself. The Indians call Arch Rock, *Shibaiabikong*,—or Pierced Rock.

Oak Point. See my paper, under "Pointe aux Chenes."

Old Mackinaw. Should be *Pikwatinang*, "a hill shaped like a knob."

Ottawa. Accent on second syllable. Derivation is very uncertain, but to say that it refers to *Otaawe*, "owning furs," is I think far fetched. Some derive the name from *Ataawe*, "trading," hence "the traders;" which I think is wrong. Some again from *Otawask*, or *Watawask*, meaning it seems, in that language, "bulrushes." Some say they call themselves *Wata-wawininiwag*, "men of the bulrushes."

Pictured Rocks. *Ishkweajibikong*, "at the last bluff," is probably right, and more correct than *Gaiashkabigong*, as it is in my paper. I have heard this word since I wrote my paper.

Iroquois Point. *Nadowewiganing*. I admit that some apply this name to the Island, but I believe the more usual use of the name is, as I have it in my paper, applied to the "Point." Perhaps even in this case both are right. It all depends on where the battle really took place. It seems to me that I have heard *Nadowe-miniss* for the Island.

Point St. Ignace. See my paper for the real explanation of *Nadowekweamishing*. The meaning given here is wrong, as I note in the aforesaid paper, and the mistake comes in my opinion from an *a priori* division of the word. This meaning appeared already in another work, and its author is doubtless the lamented Father Edward Jacker, a former holy missionary in the Upper Peninsula and a great scholar. This leads me to believe that much of the information and the philological discussion contained in this chapter are from the pen of that great scholar and linguist.

It is to be ever regretted that his valuable manuscripts were lost in Lake Michigan,—an irreparable loss to linguistic science.

PONTIAC. I think the explanation given here is more ingenious than real,—another case of *a priori* investigation. I remember reading years ago that the name was really *Bwandiag*. Now *Bwan*, as a proper name, refers to the Sioux Indians (cf. Assiniboine,—i. e., *Assini Bwan-ag*). As a common noun, it refers to a spit for roasting or broiling. As to *diac* or *diag* I have never been able to discover anything.

ROUND ISLAND. (St. Mary's River). *Kokosh-miniss*. All that is said here seems, from any information I can gather, to be an unfounded fable. The Indians today at least call it simply *Wawie-miniss*. There is, I believe, in Lake Michigan, not far from Epouffette, a Hog Island, or *Kokosh-miniss*. Maybe this was what caused some confusion.

ST. JOSEPH'S ISLAND (St. Mary's River). *Pikwatine-ashing*. I wonder at the translation given here. The word is so clearly composed of *pikwa* (round like a ball), *tin* (a hill), *neashing* (a point), that I wonder how the meaning could have been missed; but as the saying goes, "Even good Homer nods once in a while." The word means in free language, "rounded hill and point."

SAILORS' ENCAMPMENT. See my paper, under "Neebish." *Ashiganikaning*, the place of the Bass,—refers to the Canadian shore opposite Neebish on St. Joseph's Island. It has nothing to do directly with the story of the Encampment.

SAND HILLS. *Namewanong*. Doubtless indeed for *Namewaning*, referring to the abode (*Wai-wan-ing*) of the Sturgeons.

Sault Ste. Marie. What is said here about *Bawitig* (*Bawiting*), *Bagwatig* (*Bagwating*), is correct. It is hardly right however to place *Giwideonaning* or Detour at the mouth of the (so-called) river, nor does *Giwideonaning* refer in any direct way to sailing. See more in my paper, under "S. S. Marie."

Sugar Island. *Sisibakwato-miniss* is right. It is not called *Ishkonigan*. *Ishkonigan* (reservation) refers only to one spot on the side facing Lake George near what the Indians call *Waninatinong*.

Totem. From *ode* (o-day), gens, family mark, ancestral animal. This is true enough, but it goes further than that, and is deeply significant and poetical at the same time. *Ode* (pronounced O-day) means "his heart." *De* refers to the heart. *Kashkendam-idee* means "His heart is sad." Hence *Wedodedjig*, those of the same village, i. e. literally "those of one heart." *Odenah* or *Odenaw* means a village or town, place where those of the same heart dwell.

Nijode means "two families," etc. The word *totem*, which the good father (as I believe the writer to be) explains, and rightly, (but obscurely to those not versed in Indian linguistics) is, if I am not mistaken, a creation of Henry Schoolcraft. It is taken from *ototeman*. In a subsequent paper I shall have occasion to refer to some of Schoolcraft's absurd manipulations. This is one of them. A table will explain this better.

	nin	*ode*	*m* (especially to something very near and dear to me)
	my	mark	my
		t—	euphonic.
	nin	—*d*—	otem
hence	*nin*	—*t*—	odem— my mark, gens, etc.
		d—	*dodem* (means nothing)
		t—	*totem*, Same as dodem,—No word at all.

They say, "It answers the purpose." But not for the philologist. Among the "Totems" which we find in the "list" here given there is *Noke* (Nokay), bear's sirloin. I cannot find any other authority besides the present for this translation. See my paper, under "Bay de Noc," for information about *Noke*.

WHITE FISH POINT, Lake Superior. *Nemikong* is right and I regret very much that I had the misfortune to overlook White Fish Point in my list of names in the oft-mentioned paper of July, 1918. How it happened I cannot tell, but the fact is there, and I would be grateful if my readers would add this paragraph in its proper place, viz., after "Sheldrake, L. Sup." *Nemikong* is right, but the meaning "Beaver Point" is wrong. It is not derived from *Amik* (beaver) and *Neashing* (point), but from *Onimik* (sprout, bud) and *Neashing* (point). Hence "Sprout Point," because sprouts or buds abounded in that region. Another case of *a priori* conjecture.

SALT POINT. I missed this also I believe. It resembles *Nemikong*. *Neamikang* it is called, and is derived from *Neashing* (point) and *Minamika* (There are breakers). It is situated close to Emerson. The Island opposite is called *Ejitewekondeg*.

NEEBISH. *Anibish*, it should be. An old French map of the 18th century has: "*Anipick*." The meaning "leaf" or "tea-leaf" is correct. I mentioned Neebish Island in my paper and I there made a suggestion. I find that some approve it. Since I wrote that article I have found that one Indian refers the name *Neebish* (leaf) to the form or shape of the Island as seen by a person standing on Ram's Dock (Sugar Island) and looking towards Neebish. The Island, being between St. Mary's River and West Neebish

Channel, would form an imaginary leaf. Another told me that it was so called because it was famous for camping and making "Anibish-Abo" (leafwater), i. e., tea.

A "lapsus calmi" occurred also when writing about Sheldrake, *Anzigosibi*. I translated Anzig by crossbill. I meant of course "sawbill." The crossbill is a bird called "*Ajitekoneshi*."

If time and opportunity permit, I hope some day to review certain other portions of Mr. Wood's estimable work.

THE SECRET OF THE ELDER PITH: A LEGEND

JAMES HENDERSON

DETROIT

A LITTLE FAIRY coming from some strange land long ago, to a land perhaps as strange to him, slid down a moon rainbow spanning a low valley down the center of which ran a tiny stream sparkling under the moon's rays and seeming like a thread of liquescent silver. Near the little stream, fretted and spun in winding spirals as it indented the low lying banks, with their fittings of iris where it rounded into little pools and the pond lilies seemed to dream, was indeed a charming place to be; so the fairy from the strange land casting about, as if to find some suitable place to hide some precious jewel or treasure in his keeping, proceeded at last to a little cluster of stones, moss grown and weed bestrewn nestling close in the bend of the stream, and there furtively, as the stars shone and the big moon looked down, took from his girdle something which apparently was very dearly treasured, and placing it among the stones, as stealthily moved away.

In a short time a low mist, softer than the softest cloud wrack, settled down upon the scene, enclosing all, as it were, in a filmy mirage as one might see in some oriental desert scene, the evening seeming to settle into a quiet drowse, as if to say,—rest now, the chapter is closed.

Years afterwards, how many we do not know, another moon was sifting the vales and the little stream swollen from the recent thaws,—for the frost-rime had lately overhung the bushes with encrusta-

tions of silver, and winter snows had softened, —sifted down among the withered iris and the cattails and reeds along its rim. As the big moon peered over the low hill toward the East, a strange caravan of "Wee Folk," feathers flying and plumes nodding in its soft radiance, some on foot, some walking in silver moccasins, slowly approached, and stopping at the little bend of the stream where this moon child presumably had hid his treasure in an earlier year, searched sedulously among the stones; but apparently finding nothing, they left as mysteriously as they came.

The next spring, or rather summer, an Indian boy wandering along the banks of the little stream, sat down to rest upon one of the mossy stones of our fairies' quest. He was now shaded by a stately growing elder bush, and about him, right at his hand, and growing in charming profusion, were clusters of flaming gentian and beautiful hanging pendants of lady's-slipper. Such a charm seemed to hang about the place, nesting there in the quiet rest of the brookside, he resolved to visit the spot again; for the little Indian prince was a wanderer of quiet forest ways and often strayed far from his father's teepee to be gone for weeks at a time, and would as mysteriously turn up at just the right time safe and sound. They had ceased to fear for him, and seemed satisfied to believe that the Great Manitou somehow protected him in his journeyings.

Another morning, later, he was absent, and forest rills were sparkling, forest bowers were sweet with song, and the fledgelings, now grown to maturity, were copying the notes of their elders as he rambled far in the tangle of the quiet woods, heading for the mysterious creek-bend that had enthralled him so.

He came upon it one morning shortly after dawn, or near to it; for, as he approached he beheld the strangest sight he had ever seen,—a King fairy, about half the size of himself, with long flowing silver hair and beard, the leader of a band, it seemed, in search of the fairy treasure.

His numerous band, strange as himself, were very busy, as he held extended a golden wand, and then one of them with a glistening tomahawk cut down the shady elder, and out dropped, or rolled, just as might peas or beans, clusters and strands of sparkling diamonds, which were held up in admiration in the rays of the morning sun. One of the fairy band then drew from a bag which he carried, something which seemed to the boy like floss, or silk, and began forcing it into the hollow of the wood where he conceived the diamonds had grown,—or been hidden, we never have learned which. The King replaced the wand in his buckler, a tiny page raised a silver bugle to his lips and blew a blast, as the one who had cut down the elder replaced it; and, as it were, in an instant, wending their way, the entire band vanished in the forest.

Spellbound the Indian lad remained, but not for long, and approaching the spot of such strange witchery beheld the tree intact and as if nothing had ever happened to it; but lying on the ground, one tiny sparkler the fairy band had overlooked. Securing it with beating heart he deposited it safely in the toe of his moccasin.

Once back in his father's lodge, he had strange tales to tell, but he did not give up the story or secret of the diamond in his possession; he thought to use it as a means of divining where other treasurers might be, and thereafter nearly every elder in the forest

for miles around was found with mysterious cuts or openings. It was the work of the little Indian prince, who, it was presumed, had become insane in his search. "The Elder Bush that grew the diamonds" he was heard so often to repeat to himself. It had become an obsession.

Following his customary wanderings summer after summer until he became a gray haired old man taking long journeys by water to distant isles and tribes in canoes he would himself build, he finally was found dead in a little cave on the isle of Michilimackinac, and in the toe of his moccasin the diamond, which it is presumed had been replaced many times during all the years of his wanderings. This is the tale of how the elder stalk is filled with "fairy silk," or pith, instead of diamonds.

HISTORY OF THE MARQUETTE ORE DOCKS[1]

BY D. H. MERRITT

MARQUETTE

IN THE year 1853 Mr. Daniel Merritt (my father) was employed by the Cleveland & Pittsburg Railroad Company building a coal dock in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, near where the present Union Passenger Station is located. His familiarity with dock construction led to his entering into a contract with the late John Senter of Eagle River, Michigan, for the construction of a merchandise dock at that place, which was completed in the fall of 1854. Upon his return to Cleveland, a contract was made with the Cleveland Iron Mining Company (now The Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company) W. J. Gordon, President, and Samuel L. Mather, Secretary, for the construction of a dock in Marquette Harbor. He left Cleveland as soon as arrangements were completed and arrived in Marquette November 20, 1854, and began getting timber ready for the dock, which was to be completed as early as possible in 1855. He employed a number of Frenchmen, expert in woodcraft, among whom was one who had contracted the smallpox at Sault Ste. Marie and from whom Mr. Merritt took the disease and died December 20, 1854.

In company with Mr. James J. St. Clair, agent for the Cleveland Iron Mining Company, stationed at Marquette, I left Cleveland on the 17th of February, 1855, and met, in Chicago, Mr. David Himrod, the agent for the Jackson Iron Company, also stationed

1. Paper read for Mr. Merritt by Dr. T. A. Felch, at the joint meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and the Marquette County Historical Society, Aug. 23, 1918, at Marquette, Michigan; being the same as the paper read at the Marquette Range meeting of the Lake Superior Mining Institute in 1914.

in Marquette, and a Mr. Jabez Smith, of Sharon, Pennsylvania, arriving in Marquette March 17, with snow four feet deep on the level. It was the original intention of the above named companies to build and operate a joint dock for the shipping of iron ore, a contract having also been drawn with Mr. Merritt and the Jackson Company which awaited the signature of L. I. Kimball, president of the company, upon the death of Mr. Merritt. There being no existing contract with the Jackson Iron Company, the project for building and operating a joint dock was abandoned and each company decided to build a separate dock, whereupon Mr. Smith began the construction of a dock for the Jackson Company which was located on the north side and parallel with the shore of the bay and finished during that year. It was reached by a wooden trestle extending from the east end of Washington street to the west end of the dock, gradually decreasing in height until it was about eight feet higher than the floor of the dock upon which the ore was unloaded and which floor was about four and one-half feet above the level of the water, making the entire height of the dock and trestle about twelve and one-half feet. The ore was delivered upon four wheeled cars drawn by mules from the mine, making one trip per day, about three tons per car, which was unloaded with shovels and thrown upon the floor of the dock from which it was placed into wheelbarrows and wheeled aboard the vessel. There were employed from 20 to 30 men and barrows requiring from three to five or even six days to load a cargo of 200 to 300 tons, the latter being the largest capacity of vessels employed in the ore trade at that time. Through a suggestion of one of the vessel captains that the trestle

be made three or four feet higher and located on the edge of the dock instead of the center, as at present, the ore could be unloaded from the cars into chutes and thereby save one handling and insure greater dispatch.

The dock for the Cleveland Iron Mining Company was built by Alexander G. Ross and Captain Joseph Bridges during the year 1855, and instead of a trestle as in the case of the Jackson dock the cars were run onto the level dock and the ore wheeled aboard the vessel in the same manner as employed by the Jackson Company.

Upon the completion of the Iron Mountain Railroad in 1857 by the late Heman B. Ely, extending from Marquette to the Lake Superior mine (now Ishpeming) the mule transportation was abandoned in 1858 and the ore from the three mines was carried by the Iron Mountain Railroad Company.

In 1857 the Lake Superior Iron Company, with Samuel P. Ely as agent and resident director of the Railroad Company, constructed a dock from the east end of Main Street into the Bay, of a capacity of 75 pockets, which was the result of the vessel captain's suggestion, modified and enlarged upon by reason of the question as to what was to be done with the ore when there were no vessels in port, as it would be impracticable to allow the cars to stand idle, sometimes for days, awaiting the arrival of vessels. It was therefore decided to build the dock 25 feet high and to build pockets for the reception of the ore. The height of the proposed dock was objected to by the vessel captains upon the ground that the ore, falling from so great a height, would be liable to damage the vessel and possibly sink it. This was

however overcome and the dock constructed with pockets as proposed, being the first pocket dock ever built for handling iron ore.

In 1858 the Cleveland Iron Mining Company, noting the success of the Lake Superior Company's dock, erected a trestle and pockets upon the dock built by Ross and Bridges in 1855, making, however, the trestle 30 feet above the lake level but keeping the same height as at the Lake Superior dock at the mouth of the pocket, thereby making a greater storage capacity by five feet than that of the Lake Superior dock. After the completion of the Cleveland Company's 100-pocket dock by the late Jay C. Morse, agent, it was considered that sufficient dock capacity had been provided for a number of years, but the increased consumption of Lake Superior ores and enlargement of vessels rendered it necessary to provide greater dock and storage capacity. Accordingly, the Railroad Company constructed a dock in 1864 upon the present site of No. 5 dock. Vessels carrying 1,000 tons had made their appearance and in order to give sufficient angle to the chutes the mouth of the pockets required raising, which was done, increasing the height of trestle to 35 feet, with a corresponding increase in the height of pockets.

Meanwhile new mines were opened and the rail transportation increased. Hopper cars carrying eight tons each were substituted for the smaller flat bottom cars, and the locomotive capacity increased to seven. On June 11, 1868, a fire broke out in the railroad yard which consumed all vestige of dock above water in the harbor except the Cleveland Iron Company's dock located at the foot of Baraga Avenue. Almost the entire business portion of the town was consumed,

together with the shops of the Railroad Company and several cars. The Cleveland Company's dock, being the only one left, was operated jointly by the Railroad Company and Cleveland Iron Company during the entire 24 hours of the day until the Lake Superior dock was rebuilt. The decreased loading facilities caused a serious delay to their vessels and in many instances they had to wait from one to three weeks for a cargo.

In 1869 the railroad dock was rebuilt with an increased height of 45 feet and 25 feet from the mouth of the pockets to the water level. In 1882 the Marquette and Western Railroad was built and a new dock constructed by Daniel McCool, General Manager, located south of the Cleveland Company's dock, which trestle was torn down and abandoned, the approach being utilized for the new dock. In 1889 this dock was extended by the addition of 100 pockets from a previously constructed dock at St. Ignace by Wm. F. Fitch, President and General Manager of the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic Railway, all of the roads having been previously consolidated under that name.

In 1869 I was directed by the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company to take soundings of the water in Presque Isle Bay with a view of establishing a shipping point at that place, which was done and a report submitted. The project was however abandoned, the depth of water being only 18 feet between the mouth of Dead River and the southern point of Presque Isle.

In 1890 the D. S. S. & A. R. R. Company constructed a dock from the east end of Washington Street just south of the approach to the old Jackson dock known as

No. 4. It was 47 feet high, 27 feet from the mouth of pockets to the water and contained 200 pockets with a storage capacity of 28,000 tons. The superstructure was taken down in 1895 and 1896. In 1896 and 1897 the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Wm. G. Mather, President, built the Lake Superior and Ishpeming Railroad and constructed a dock in Presque Isle Bay under the general supervision of Robert Selden Rose, constructing engineer. This dock was 54 feet high and contained 200 pockets with a storage capacity of 36,000 tons and was considered equal, if not superior, to any in existence. It was operated until 1913.

In 1905 and 1906 a new dock known as No. 5 was built by the D. S. S. & A. R. R. Company in Marquette Bay on the site of No. 2, the approach to which is by a steel bridge over Front Street, thereby obtaining a height of 71 feet above the lake level. It contains 200 pockets, 40 feet from mouth of pocket to water level, and has a storage capacity of 45,000 tons. It is now operated and over it all ore transported by that company is loaded into barges, the early sailing vessels having long since gone out of existence. In 1911 and 1912 the Lake Superior and Ishpeming Railroad Company constructed a concrete dock in Presque Isle Bay under a contract with the Raymond Concrete Pile Company and Wisconsin Bridge & Iron Company. It is 75 feet high and contains 200 pockets. 43 feet from mouth of pocket to the water. It has a storage capacity of 50,000 tons. Six thousand three hundred tons of hematite ore has been loaded into a 6,500 ton barge in one hour and 15 minutes, 84 tons per minute. Also 3,850 tons hard ore in 23 minutes equal to 165 tons per minute. The average loading time during the season of 1913 was 1,527 tons per

hour. The ore is delivered in 50 ton cars, a single locomotive hauling 45 cars of a capacity of 50 tons each. This dock is acknowledged to be the best in the world and will well repay a visit to persons interested.

The Edward K. Warren Foundation of Three Oaks, Michigan

By George M. Fox, Director

(Since the writing of the following article, Mr. Warren has laid aside earthly cares. His death occurred at his residence in Evanston, Illinois, on January 16 of this year. The funeral was held at Three Oaks, the town he made, cherished and loved)

AMONG the interesting developments of recent years is "The Foundation." The nation and certain States, under specific laws, permit the formation of foundations for definite purposes. Michigan is a pioneer, if not *the* pioneer, in a general law authorizing such institutions for establishing and maintaining museums.

This is permitted under Act No. 59, entitled, "An Act authorizing the incorporation of foundations for the promotion of the public welfare," approved by Governor Sleeper on April 17, 1917.

"The purposes of such foundation may include the preservation of forests; the establishment and maintenance of a park, or parks, for the benefit of the people; the collection and preservation of historical documents, data, research and publications; and to extend aid and support to any such objects and purposes, agencies or institutions already established, or which may hereafter be established."

Early in the year 1918 Mr. Edward K. Warren and Mary Chamberlain, his wife, acting under this law, formed the Edward K. Warren Foundation. For many years Mr. Warren held a tract of primeval forest which he hoped to have set aside for public pleasure and education in Nature's great school of

"out of doors;" also a tract of lakeshore lands including some of the finest sand dunes in America. The State could not take and maintain these lands; the State University was not ready to do so; therefore legislation was necessary, and it was largely due to Mr. Warren's efforts that Act No. 59 was secured to the State.

While some means of preserving to posterity the forest and dunes had long engaged the attention of Mr. and Mrs. Warren, the founding of the Chamberlain Memorial Museum at Three Oaks in 1915 crystallized matters and brought about the Foundation. The idea of establishing a museum was a germ implanted in the mind of Mrs. Warren in her girlhood. As Mr. and Mrs. Warren traveled through the East and South and in many foreign lands, they visited many museums; with each visit their interest increased and in the year given above they began the work of establishing the museum.

Preserved in a case in the Museum is the "germ" of the present collections, one of its most treasured objects. All museums preserve records of their founding and of the founders. But few can go back of these records and give the genesis of the institution as it evolved in the mind or minds of the founders. The Chamberlain Memorial Museum is more fortunate in this respect. One of the founders, Mrs. Warren, knows when her interest in preserving pioneer articles was aroused.

The story starts far back in New England in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Near Concord, New Hampshire, at that time lived Mrs. Warren's great grandparents, Major Moses Chamberlain, and Rebecca Abbot, his wife. In Revolutionary times,

when prices were high and money scarce, it one year happened that Major Chamberlain had nothing wherewith to pay the taxes. Rebecca brought out her silver spoons, the gift of her father which she persuaded her husband must go to meet their obligation to the country. So together they started for Concord in the old sleigh to sell the spoons.

Erelong they saw wolf tracks crossing the road; there was a bounty of $20 on a wolf and they quickly returned home. Major Chamberlain got his gun, followed up the tracks, shot the wolf and took the skin to market, and also collected the bounty. The wolf saved the spoons, one of which came to Michigan in 1836 and was transferred from the hand of the blind grandmother to a little girl's hand about 1865 with many cautions as to its safekeeping. It became the prized possession of Mary Chamberlain and gradually her interest in other historical articles was aroused, after many years culminating in the Chamberlain Memorial Museum.

THE WARREN WOODS

The Warren woods, as comprised in the area under control of the Edward K. Warren Foundation, is a tract of about 200 acres. When this woodland originally came into the possession of Mr. Warren it extended a full mile north and south and half a mile east and west. At about the middle, dividing it into two somewhat unequal portions, is a ravine and the valley of the Galien River. On the part lying to the south of these depressions in early days kilns were built and the forest found on this section converted into charcoal. The northern area was undisturbed.

This forest is growing in primeval strength. Every process in the making and the unmaking of forests, as nature works, is here illustrated. In the rich black soil is the teeming life of the woodland; on the lowlands along the Galien River are pools and swampy spots common to undisturbed forest tracts. From both banks of the high lands which border the river bottoms, ooze numberless springs.

The woodland is typical of the forest which covered all the region of southwestern Berrien County and the northern part of adjoining counties of Indiana, this area being known in very early days as the "Galien Woods." Nearly all varieties of deciduous trees are to be found, but the glory of Warren Woods is its mammoth beeches and maples. The blue, smooth trunks of the former and the light brown-barked trunks of the latter tower aloft 125 feet or more, the first 70 and even 80 feet without a limb. To this forest, even in days long after the coming of the white man, Indians returned each spring to make maple sugar.

The money value of the Warren Woods for commercial purposes is immense; for scientific and historical purposes it is priceless. The woods are located two and one half miles north and a short distance west of Three Oaks.

THE WARREN DUNES

Seven miles north of Three Oaks the main highway north terminates on the beach of Lake Michigan. At this point the marvellous series of sand dunes known locally as the "Warren Dunes" begin; they continue north for several miles along this shore of the lake.

To understand these dunes the land surface of the surrounding region should be mentally pictured. The western part of Berrien County lies on a part of the lake bed of what was once a larger Lake Michigan. Beginning at the beach of the present lake it runs back easterly rising by slow degrees to the morainic hills to the west of the St. Joseph River. This level plain with a few slight hillocks is from five to ten miles wide and about twenty miles long.

It is on this plain that the dunes are reared. They lie immediately adjacent to the lake and extend from the southwestern limits of the county northward along the beach nearly to St. Joseph. For much of this distance they are low and consist of a single ridge near the water.

The Warren Dunes are constructed by nature on a large and elaborate scale. Individual dunes of a height from 300 to 350 feet are common and the area occupied by the series of huge ridges, like mountain chains in miniature, is a mile in width from the lake front to where the sand drops away from the high peaks to the level plain.

The highest dune in Michigan, 395 feet according to the charts of the United States Great Lakes Survey, is on the Warren Dunes. Natural amphitheatres of immense size are found among these sand hills; moving dunes, mountains of sand driven onward at varying speeds, engulfing forest and plain, are the marvels of the region.

Of these moving dunes the Great Warren Dune easily leads. Beginning at the lake it sweeps eastward for about two thirds of a mile, rising by gradual ascent to its highest point, estimated to be 250 feet above the level of the lake. Its eastern end is a great tongue,

the north, east and south sides dropping abruptly into valleys. On the south this dropping face has a length of 194 feet and a perpendicular height above the tree-grown valley of 97 feet. This dune appears to advance on all fronts at a uniform rate of about twelve feet a year.

Viewed from the top of one of the higher dunes the area spreads out very like a mountain chain in miniature. The peaks, the valleys, the parks, the defiles, all are plainly visible.

Much of the dune area is in the hands of Mr. Warren, and at the most interesting point embracing the Great Warren Dune, he has set apart a tract some hundreds of acres in extent, with half a mile of lake frontage for a park for the permanent preservation of the dunes included therein. This is controlled by the Edward K. Warren Foundation.

An extended study of the dunes of Indiana, and of the other dune regions of Michigan, develops that the Warren Dunes are equalled by none. Their extent is greater, they are higher and they present more interesting and marvellous features than do the dunes of the sister State or the dunes found farther north in Michigan. While some points on the west coast of Michigan rise to slightly higher elevations than do the Warren Dunes, investigation reveals that these are not *sand* dunes, though generally so called. Most often their bases are glacial till with sand only at the tops. The miniature mountains of Berrien County are one mass of sand from the plain on which they rest to the narrow peaks in which they culminate.

The Warren Dunes and the Warren Woods are two great natural curiosities which the Foundation aims

EDWARD KIRK WARREN

Born April 7, 1847. Died January 6, 1919.

From a 50 cents-per-day hand in a lumber mill to multi-millionaire inventor and manufacturer. From a log cabin to a mansion. From a scholar in a Sunday School in a little country village to President of the World's Sunday School Association. Philanthropist. A man with a vision.

MAIN STREET OF THREE OAKS, LOOKING NORTH,

The village which Mr. Warren called his home, and which he loved; for whose growth he was largely responsible. One of the first dry towns in Michigan. For years Mr. Warren annually bought the one license to sell liquor to which the village was entitled.

THE WARREN FEATHERBONE OFFICE BUILDING AND BANK IN THREE OAKS.
The building bears an inscription stating that on this site Edward K. Warren began his business life in 1864.

THE DEWEY CANNON, THREE OAKS.

A trophy of the struggle in the Philippines given by Admiral Dewey to the National Monument Committee and by them offered as a prize to the city or village giving the largest amount to the Monument Fund in proportion to its population. Won by Three Oaks over all other communities in America, giving rise to three Oaks' slogan, "Three Oaks Against the World."

THE BEACH OF LAKE MICHIGAN AT THE WARREN DUNES, NOW A PART OF THE EDWARD K. WARREN FOUNDATION.

THE WARREN WOODS

A view in the tract now under the control of the Edward K. Warren Foundation. This forest is largely beech and maple, with trees ten feet and up in circumference and 135 feet high.

A GIANT IN THE WARREN WOODS
This particular tree, a sycamore, is almost thirty feet in circumference.

THE GALIEN RIVER WHICH FLOWS THROUGH THE WARREN WOODS.

to secure for permanent enjoyment and study by coming generations. With these is included a third, the Chamberlain Memorial Museum.

THE CHAMBERLAIN MEMORIAL MUSEUM

In the fall of 1915, plans for the formation of the Museum having been perfected, Mr. and Mrs. Warren began the gathering of exhibits. The Museum is historical in scope and is particularly designed to perpetuate the pioneer days of this section of Michigan and the neighboring regions of Indiana.

From the very beginning a wise plan was adopted. While the collections gathered by Mr. and Mrs. Warren during their travels and during their long residence in Three Oaks were large and complete, it was not designed to make the Museum a "one-man-museum," nor the museum of a small set of men. Among many of the great museums of the country a few large collections form the basis of the exhibit; to these are added the specimens gathered by the large staff of collectors of the institutions. Among the millions of articles exhibited in such museums the average individual feels that the single specimen he has to offer is unwelcome.

The plan for the growth of the Museum at Three Oaks was vitally different. It was to be a "Three Oaks Museum," one in which everyone could have a part by the giving of exhibits. Few families but cherished two or more articles handed down from fathers and grandfathers; it was in the hope of gathering and permanently housing these where they could be seen by all, and be protected against all damage, that the Museum took shape.

The collecting of articles for the Museum was at

first slow and rather disheartening. Few were brought in; discouragements arose but Mr. and Mrs. Warren persisted in their determination to found a Museum.

For the building, the old home of Henry Chamberlain, twice candidate for Governor of the State, one of the most influential men of his day, and himself the pioneer citizen of Three Oaks, was secured. The building is a three story brick structure, well lighted and equipped in a modern manner. The rooms are exceptionally high and the total floor space available is about 4,000 feet.

On the lot with the main building is a wooden structure, now known as "The Annex" affording an additional floor space of 2,500 square feet. The two buildings adjoin the school property making them easily accessible for class purposes; they are only two blocks from the main part of town.

The buildings having been decided upon, cases were purchased and set up; in January, 1916, the present director was secured to install the collections. When it was realized that the Museum was actually to be established, accessions were greatly augmented.

On March first, 1916, the Museum was formally opened. It then occupied the two upper floors of the main building, the lower floor being given over to school purposes. Exhibits numbered 3,500, displayed on walls, in swinging frames and in 17 cases.

Every article in the Museum was a gift or loan of individuals nearly all from Three Oaks or vicinity. The policy then was, and one since adhered to, to purchase no articles for exhibition.

At the opening the Museum was christened "The Chamberlain Memorial Museum" in honor of Henry Chamberlain, the father of Mrs. Warren. As he was

the pioneer and first citizen of Three Oaks, the choice was particularly appropriate.

Today the Museum has grown far beyond the dream of its founders. Interest continues unabated and the gifts are increasing in number, being nearly doubled during the past year. Despite the fact that the Museum is open to the public on only two days of the week, 4,000 visitors were entertained the first year; this in a village of 1,200 population. So rapid has been the growth that at no time has it been possible to issue a printed catalogue; within six weeks after publication it would have been obsolete.

At the close of the year 1918 the records showed that 17,500 articles had been accessioned, practically all gifts, though a small percent are listed as loans. These came from 431 donors. Every square foot of the five floors in both buildings is now in use; over fifty cases are filled with exhibits. So great and rapid has been the growth that sufficient space is no longer available in the present buildings. As soon as favorable building conditions return, a suitable modern, fire-proof museum building will be erected.

The original director, now also director of the Edward K. Warren Foundation, is still in charge of the Museum; associated with him as curator is Mrs. Martha A. Wilson.

The prime function of the Chamberlain Memorial Museum is to preserve for all time the pioneer articles interesting in themselves, or because they were the property of an early settler. But articles are not declined because they fall outside this category. There is a small but select Oriental collection and a room devoted to natural history specimens. In addition the Museum, which works closely with all

schools within a radius of fifteen miles, has gathered commercial collections for their use; also, 40,000 mounted pictures are at the disposal of the schools; many lectures are prepared and given each year.

The main or middle floor of the main building is almost wholly historical in scope. Here are the Museum's collections of musical instruments, old basketry, bandboxes, gourd utensils, doctor and druggist tools of past generations, boots and shoes, jewelry, old watches, stereoscopes, combs, table sewing machines, locks and keys, chinaware, brownware, vases, glassware, pewter, majolica, fancy needlework, shaving implements, beadwork, the coin collections, and a few specimens from the documents collected by the Museum.

About 300 portraits of early settlers in the vicinity of Three Oaks are shown on this floor. The Henry Chamberlain office, and personal library of the "Sage of Three Oaks," is preserved intact, just as it was the day Mr. Chamberlain left it.

One end of the main historical room is modelled after a pioneer kitchen with its huge open fireplace. About this are grouped the utensils in use in the kitchen in early days and such other things as were found hanging about the chimney place.

The Oriental collection given by Mr. H. J. Heinz of Pittsburg occupies a case on this floor. Other collections here exhibited are the bootjacks, copper and brass implements, pipes and tobacco pouches, hats, belts, trumpets, etc. of early fire companies, white goods and baby clothes made generations ago, foot stoves, butterworking implements, carpet bags, warming pans and hatchels.

The collections of old dishes and of books particu-

larly illustrate the plan and purposes of the exhibits. Among the dishes will be found all types and makes such as might have been seen in use among the pioneers of this region. While rare specimens are welcomed, the collection is by no means confined to these. Among the books care is taken to secure the older and somewhat common types from among which the early settler would have chosen the few copies which would have made his library. Bibles such as were in use fifty and more years ago are welcomed and the collection is large. The school books which the fathers and grandfathers, the mothers and grandmothers used in studying the "three R's" are well represented and give a true and excellent picture of school books long since discarded.

Among the most valued possessions of the Museum is the collection of works on medicine owned and used by Dr. Wilcox, an early practitioner in medicine at Three Oaks. In this set is no work published later than 1850 and many go back to 1800 or before.

The upper floor contains the Indian room, nearly every weapon or implement in which was found about Three Oaks, and the Natural History Room with mounted birds illustrating those found in Berrien County, including two fine specimens of the passenger pigeon, a shell collection, minerals, woods and specimens from the sea. Another room contains the guns and pistols, another the Civil War relics, the hat and bonnet collection, spreads and coverlids, the fans, mitts and gloves and mammoth and mastodon teeth. A full set of the former in excellent condition are the particular pride of the Museum; they were dug up a few years ago two miles southeast of Three Oaks.

On the upper floor is also housed the working model of a woodburning locomotive of the forties of the

last century. This is the work of Geo. A. Bullard of Marshall, and occupied his time for seven years.

On the lower floor are fourteen large cases giving room for displaying knives, forks and spoons, the wool and linen collections, old dresses, dressmaking tools and dress patterns, sewing implements, moths and butterflies, antique pottery, hospital supplies of Civil War days, lanterns, candles and molds, lights and lamps of all descriptions, fluting irons, clocks, school utensils, oldfashioned jewelry and other boxes, children's toys, exhibits from the Pacific Isles, and wall ornaments such as feather, hair and agricultural wreaths. Many articles used by famous personages have been secured. Among these is a bow made by Sitting Bull, a rifle used by Daniel Boone, Governor Cass' punch bowl and whiskey flask and a knife used by President Jackson at the Hermitage.

In the Annex are displayed the larger and more cumbersome agricultural implements including a threshing machine of 1840, a wooden horse-hayrack, and a Dutch harness. The stove collection, chairs and settees, sewing machines, bureaus, spinning wheels, baby cabs, blacksmith tools, traps, bee hives, apple parers, huge copper and iron kettles, steelyards and scales, wagon maker's, glove maker's and cooper's tools, preserving crocks, wooden tools and utensils, and a host of other articles are carefully preserved here.

In addition to the general classes of articles listed above, the Museum possesses countless individual specimens which are not mentioned in this article. Yet this collection, great as it is, is but a part of the articles to be secured in the region of Southwestern Michigan and Northern Indiana. Many pioneer homes have yielded their relics to the Museum but many more have yet to be investigated.

THREE OAKS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

As an auxiliary to the Chamberlain Memorial Museum the Three Oaks Historical Society was organized in March, 1916. It holds regular monthly meetings from September to June in each year. The annual meeting held in May, is known as "Pioneers' Day." At this meeting the old settlers and pioneers are guests of honor; dinner is served and a program along historical lines, including pioneer reminiscences, is given. At the meeting in 1918 nearly 600 were present.

The work of this Society consists in gathering early records and in securing historical and pioneer material from early settlers. Papers dealing with different phases of life in the early days are prepared and read at each meeting. In the discussions which follow, many valuable additions to the knowledge of pioneer life are obtained.

The gathering of and the reducing to writing of the facts of early-day life, for permanent preservation, is a part of the work of the Historical Society and of the Museum staff. Articles dealing with some specific subject of life of early times are frequently prepared and published in the local paper, *The Acorn.*[1]

1. The following program prepared for the year's work for 1918-19 for the Historical Society is a fair sample and gives the scope of the work that is being undertaken:

September 16—*Historical Societies and Museums of the East*, Mr. and Mrs. E. K. Warren.
October 8—Illustrated Lecture—"*Prehistoric Man in Michigan.*" Dr. C. E. Hinsdale.
November 12—*Early Storms*, Mrs. Joseph Lee; *Early Fires*, Mrs. Jennie McKie Davis.
December 10—*Election Campaigns*, "Squire" Henry Chamberlain and Geo. R. Fox.
January 14—*Early Roads and Trails*, Mr. Fred Edinger.
February 11—*Organization of Three Oaks Village, its ordinances, and customs*, Mr. and Mrs. George Carrier.
March 11—*Epidemics*, Dr. Greenamyer.
April 8—*The Love Family*, Mrs. Stella Minister.
May 13—*Pioneers Day.*
June 10—*Early Trapping, Hunting and Fishing*, J. B. Fred and Warren Crosby.

Over all these activities the Edward K. Warren Foundation exercises an active supervision. Thus this Foundation, evolving from the treasured ownership of a spoon, and broadening with the successful establishing of the Chamberlain Memorial Museum has grown into a great institution.

The money value of the articles in the Museum cannot be given; they are priceless and many cannot be replaced. The Forest and the Dunes represent great values. When to these is added the endowment fund it is readily seen that from a monetary point of view, Mr. and Mrs. Warren are deserving of the greatest gratitude. But when the value from a scientific and historical standpoint, as well as the value to posterity, is considered, their gift to humanity is priceless and their names are secure in the Temple of Fame for all time.

The Michigan Railroad Commission

By Russell D. Kilborn
University of Michigan

PUBLIC control is but a phase of social control and differs from it only in that it is a special genus of a broad species. Social control is but the attempt of society thought of as an organism to work out the various means whereby it may be the better able to realize its ideals, even though they be vague and indefinite; public control embraces within itself all the means, legal, customary, and otherwise, that have been adopted to secure the same results in industries essentially monopolistic in their character, that have been secured by competition in businesses which are of such a nature that the public good is promoted by the working of a competitive regime. In both forms of control we hypothecate a certain standard or norm which is the aim to be reached. Having done this, we then proceed to devise ways and means for realizing these norms or standards. In general I think we may say that the norm set up in public control is more clearly defined than the norm set up in social control, largely because we have developed a certain type of institution whose function it is to give an expression of these norms, which we have not done with the same degree of accuracy or exactness in the other field.

The problem of the public utility and its necessary consequent, the problem of public control, becomes of increasing importance when a country has passed from an agricultural stage to a manufacturing stage of civilization, or from a rural type to an urban type

of development. One can at once see the truth of this statement by considering for a moment whether the problems that confronted the early settlers of this country were problems having to do with the public utility. Did these settlers for example, collectively, worry about an adequate supply of water? Had they formulated rules of procedure to be followed in order that they might recover excess freight charges? Or in case the "Hello Girl" did not promptly answer their call, did they complain to somebody about the quality of the service rendered by the telephone company? But, later on, when the railroad had it within its power to make or break a community by means of discrimination in rates; when life was made miserable by a supply of bad water and by the low pressure of gas; when if they did not get adequate service on the street railway they had to walk many miles to their work in the city,—it was when these conditions had developed in a high degree that the problem of the public utility threatened the very existence of the democratic form of the body politic.

And just as our industrial development has for the most part proceeded with no fixed goal in sight but has gone on by a process of adaptation, just so have the methods of public control been developed. The present predominant method, control through administrative commissions, has been reached after trying various methods as ineffective as they have been varied. Competition, the courts, the franchise, legislation of the direct type, and finally administrative commissions have been resorted to in an effort to bring the public utilities under some form of public control. And it is with this historical and analytical point of view in mind that it is hoped that this study of the

Michigan Railroad Commission and its forerunner, the Commissioners of Railroads of the State of Michigan may prove to be of worth.

The office of the Commissioner of Railroads for the State of Michigan was established by Act 79 of the Public Acts of 1873. This Act was approved April 10 of that year and ordered into immediate effect. It replaced a large part of the railway legislation existing at that time, and provided that the Governor of the State should appoint a Commissioner of Railroads at a salary of $4,000 a year. This compensation was reduced to $2,500 a year in 1877 but the Commissioner was empowered to appoint a deputy at a salary of $1,000 a year. The appointment of the deputy had to be ratified by the Governor. The term of office was two years and in order to be eligible for the office one must not have a pecuniary interest in any railroad in the State of Michigan or in any other State. The statute defined the work of the Commissioner. He was to compile and publish an annual report, which was to include, among other things, recommendations for more direct legislation in regard to railroads, and a report of each railroad operating in Michigan. The law went so far as to mention the forty-two items that the railroads must incorporate in their reports. The new officer was given power to examine the books and papers of the railroads. In general the Commissioner had advisory powers only and his jurisdiction included merely the railroads of the State. It was evidently thought that much good would be accomplished by the publicity that would be brought about by having these reports published annually.

The same law—it comprises 67 pages—contained

a good deal of direct legislation affecting the railroads, a large part of which was in the nature of police regulations. One reads that the railroads were to have their cars equipped with air-brakes; there were certain provisions in regard to fencing in the right-of-way; flagmen were to be stationed at certain crossings; defective tracks were to be examined by the Commissioner, and he had the power to require the roads to repair such tracks. This shows very clearly that reliance was placed in the direct type of legislation to cure the evils. The larger problems such as the regulation of rates and control over the issue of securities of public service corporations did not of course come up for consideration.

In each one of the first three reports issued by the Commissioner of Railroads we find that he opposed governmental regulation of rates. In setting forth the reasons for this attitude one of the Commissioners quotes at some length from a pamphlet written by Mr. Albert Fink, Vice-president and General Manager of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. Again in the report for the year 1883 we find the Commissioner saying that we should permit "the law of supply and demand" to settle the rate paid for traffic in the same way that this law works out in other lines of business. Later on, a circular was sent to the railroads asking them to keep their accounts according to the "Saratoga system;" not for any information that might be of use in the matter of rate regulation, but that the accounts might be of assistance in taxing railroads properly. The main problem seems to have been to see that the roads paid their share of the taxes.

Beginning with the year 1896 we notice a change in emphasis in these annual reports, more and more

stress being laid upon the problems of rates, discrimination, and capitalization. The report for that year calls attention to the fact that the laws of the State encourage discrimination and that this ought to be eliminated. In the following year the Commissioner argued for capitalization of the railroads on the basis of actual cost. In 1900 he asks for control over intrastate rates. In the annual report for the year 1901 he asks for control over the capitalization of railroads, because of the evils of stock-watering which appear to have been present at that time. Perhaps the strongest case for more adequate regulation was made by Mr. Chase Osborn when he was Commissioner of Railroads. He argues at length for regulation by a body which shall possess some degree of permanence and continuity. His suggestion was a plea for a modern type of commission. This was five years before the Commission came into being.

Later on we find that the great financial difficulties into which the Pere Marquette had gotten were mentioned by the report for the year 1904. The trouble was attributed to the manipulation of stocks and bonds, which might have been avoided. The Commissioner refers to the fact that the road may not thereafter be hawked and peddled about for speculative purposes, as it had been doing during the past four years.

It seems very likely that the great difficulty that this road had experienced exercised quite an important influence upon the Legislature and helped in the passage of the law which created the Commission. In his message of March 28, 1907, Governor Warner asked for the passage of a law regulating passenger rates and quoted the above words from the report.

We also see evidences of the Pere Marquette difficulty in the *House Journal* of the same year. When one considers the area of that part of the State that is directly dependent upon this road for its transportation facilities, the financial jugglery that had been employed in its organization, and the consequent loss suffered by the people of the State, there is every reason to think that this particular situation did have a very profound influence upon the Legislature and assisted in the passage of the law which finally established the Commission.

In the same report (1904) it is suggested that new companies be required to do a certain amount of construction work if they are to be permitted to hold the privileges that have been conferred upon them by their charters. Attention is called to a case in the Monroe circuit where a railroad company was organized and incorporated with a merely nominal amount of capital stock for the express purpose of preventing the condemnation of certain property by another company that was honestly striving in good faith to construct a railroad line. Moreover, in the report for the year 1906 the Commissioner urges legislation setting up a commission of the modern type, and more direct laws in regard to the issue of corporate securities by the railroads of the State.

Finally in 1907 Governor Warner appointed Mr. C. L. Glasgow Railroad Commissioner. After Mr. Glasgow had become acquainted with the Act clothing the Railroad Commissioner with such authority as he was assumed to make use of, he was convinced that for the welfare of the public a much larger and better service could be rendered than was possible to be rendered by one Commissioner. Accordingly he pre-

sented the matter to Governor Warner and suggested that a Commission of the modern type be created and that public utilities other than the railroads be placed under the jurisdiction of such a Commission. The suggestion was approved and Mr. Glasgow proceeded at once to prepare a bill which would render effective his suggestions. The bill became law on September 28, 1907.

It will at once be apparent to the reader that while the Commissioner did not possess the necessary powers for adequate regulation and did not do all the work that we have come to think ought to be performed by a public utility commission, he nevertheless did help to form a healthy public opinion on the whole problem by calling attention to the abuses of the old system and making suggestions for their amelioration. In a sense this was thought at the time of the creation of the office to be one of the most important tasks that the commissioner could perform. This policy of publicity had a great deal of influence for good, and as such we can do naught but commend it. But the great development in the field of public utilities made possible to no small extent by the great increase in our urban population and the immense amount of power that can be wielded by it, meant that the old office was no longer sufficiently adequate for the work to be done. It was a case of "knowing in part and prophesying in part."

But before we take up a study of the Commission, it will be well to get an idea of the chief direct legislative enactments that affected the railroads of the State; by so doing we can the more easily understand the situation when the Commission came into being. Two important laws had been enacted

prior to 1907. One of these had to do with passenger rate regulation, providing that any railroad whose passenger earnings exceeded $3,000 a mile was to charge not over 2 cents a mile; those roads having passenger earnings over $2,000 a mile and up to $3,000 a mile were to charge not more than 2½ cents a mile; and those whose passenger earnings were $2,000 a mile or less were to be permitted to charge not more than 3 cents a mile. This law was passed in 1889 and was amended in 1907. In the matter of freight regulation Article 7, Section 6,234, Compiled Laws of 1897 is the law regulating freight rates. It provides

> That in transporting freight by the car, loaded by the shipper and unloaded by the consignee, no railroad company shall charge for transporting for each of such cars more than eight dollars for any distance not exceeding ten miles, not more than fifty cents per mile for the second ten miles, not more than twenty-five cents per mile for the third ten miles, and for distances exceeding thirty miles, in no case shall the charge between any two points on the said railroad exceed the minimum charge for the entire line. This provision shall not apply to the upper peninsula, not to any company operating less than fifteen miles of railroad.

In 1907 there were enacted three laws that had a very important influence on railroads operating in the State of Michigan. One law provided for the creation of The Michigan Railroad Commission; a second statute decreed that two cents a mile was to be the passenger charge in the State; and the third enactment made railroads common carriers of live stock. We are concerned more particularly with the first of these enactments.

Public Act 312 of the Public Acts of 1907 is the statute that created the Commission. It was approved

by Governor Warner June 28 of the same year and is entitled

> An Act to regulate railroads and the transportation of persons, and property in this State, prevent the imposition of unreasonable rates, prevent unjust discrimination, insure adequate service, create the Michigan Railroad Commission, define the powers and duties thereof, and to prescribe penalties for the violation thereof.

Because of the claim that under the old constitution the Legislature had no power to delegate authority of this sort to a commission, a new Act was passed in 1909 (Act 300, Public Acts of 1909). In the main the new Act is identical with the old one, and in the analysis of the statute I shall follow the new Act and note wherein it differs from the old statute.

In analyzing a statute such as the one that we have in mind, one must remember that the different parts of the law are not mutually exclusive in the sense that one section of the Act has no relation to other sections. This of course is not the case; on the contrary, the different parts of the Act are closely related to one another. Moreover, any classification of the different sections of the Act must be more or less arbitrary, because of the fact that different interpretations can be put upon the same section, depending upon what the reader thinks the particular section in question is intended to emphasize. But in general I think we may say that certain sections of the Act are independent, others substantive, and the rest, for lack of a better term, may be called miscellaneous. Sections of the first type aim to bring about a given result directly; thus we find that a certain section of the law of 1907 states that the freight tariffs shall be within a certain radius; this is an independent

section. Another section may require the transportation companies to file their tariffs in a conspicuous place; this is not an end in itself but aims to bring about publicity. That is typical of certain sections of the law; they are to assist indirectly in bringing about a definite result. The miscellaneous sections have to do with the parts of the law that can not be put into the other classes.

The new law is composed of 52 sections, as against 50 sections in the old law. The independent sections of the Act deal with the organization of the Commission (two sections), with the problem of rates and service (15 sections), with the jurisdiction of the commission (15 sections), with discriminations and rebates (6 sections). Among the substantive parts of the law we find six sections dealing with accounts and reports and two with records. The remainder of the Act deals with such subjects as the constitutionality of each section of the Act, and with the repeal of certain laws affecting the corporations brought within its scope. Inasmuch as this law furnishes the frame work for the Commission it will be needful to get an adequate idea of the main provisions of the Act. I shall attempt to follow the order previously given.

The law provides for the appointment by the Governor of three men who are to be the Commissioners of Railroads. Their appointment is to be by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The term of office is to be six years, and appointments are so arranged that a new Commissioner is to be appointed every two years. Not more than two of the three can belong to any one political party, and in case of death, removal or resignation the chief executive of the State is to appoint a Commissioner

to serve until the next meeting of the Legislature when the appointment is to be made in the way provided by law. No man is eligible for appointment who has a pecuniary interest in the railroads of the State of Michigan or elsewhere. One of the commissioners must be an attorney "having knowledge of and experience in transportation; and the others, shall have knowledge of traffic and transportation matters." Just what constitutes knowledge of traffic and transportation matters, the law does not state. (Each man is to devote enough time to the work to insure prompt and complete performance of all official duties). The salary is fixed at $3,000 per annum, a rather low salary as the remuneration of the Commissioners in the different States of the Union runs. The chairman is to be elected by the three men and two men are sufficient to constitute a quorum necessary to do business.

The law provided for the appointment of three employes, whose salaries are fixed, namely, a Secretary, a Chief Engineer and a Clerk. The Secretary as well as the three members of the Commission are required by law to take the oath of office. Any person having a pecuniary interest in the railroads of the State of Michigan or elsewhere is ineligible for the position of Secretary.

The name of this body is The Michigan Railroad Commission, although the jurisdiction is broader than the name indicates. The jurisdiction of the body is laid down in Section 3 of the Act as follows:

> The provisions of this Act shall apply to the transportation of passengers and property between points within this State, and to the receiving, switching, delivering, storing and handling of such property, and to all charges

> connected therewith, including icing and mileage charges: Provided, however that this provision shall not be construed as a limitation on the authority of the commission created by this Act to prescribe car service and demurrage rules applicable to all traffic beginning or ending within this State.[1]

Much of the Act is devoted to the problems of rates and service. The general theory of rates and service is laid down in Section 4 as follows:

> Every common carrier is hereby required to furnish reasonably adequate service and facilities and shall provide and furnish transportation of passengers and property upon reasonable requests therefor, and all charges made for any service in connection therewith or for the receiving, switching, delivering, storing, transporting or handling of such persons or property shall be reasonable and just, and every unjust charge for such service is prohibited, and declared to be unlawful.

There are certain provisions in the Act in regard to the giving of free transportation to people who are not entitled to it, but this is not to apply to certain individuals who are engaged in charitable or certain kinds of religious work. It is interesting to note that these provisions do not prohibit the exchange of mileage for advertising in publications of general circulation,—which exemption is, I believe, not the policy usually followed in other States.

---

1. The last sentence was not in the Act of 1909 but was added in 1911. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Interstate Commerce Commission had assumed to act under the Federal law and the subject of demurrage rates has been removed from the jurisdiction of the States. As a result of this, Act No. 173, P. A. 1911, in so far as it purports to regulate demurrage rates and charges is unconstitutional, because it invades the exclusive power of Congress. The case on this point is *Michigan Central Railroad Company vs. Railroad Commission*. Logging and other private railroads not doing business as common carriers are exempt from the jurisdiction of the Act; Moreover, the Act is not to interfere with any franchise provision entered into by a local governing unit; nor is the Act to apply to street and electric railroads engaged solely in the transportation of passengers within the limits of cities or within a distance of five miles of their boundaries. Express companies and sleeping car companies doing business for hire within the State are defined as common carriers and consequently brought within the provisions of the Act.

The long and short haul section is an important one because of the problems that have come up in connection with it in other parts of the Union. This section states that a common carrier is not to receive a greater rate for a short than for a long haul when the shorter haul is included within the longer haul; nor is the Act to be interpreted as authorizing a common carrier to receive as much for a short as for a long haul. However, the Commission is empowered to suspend this requirement when a careful investigation has convinced them that a suspension of this section of the law is desirable. This is the right policy as it lodges considerable discretion in the hands of the Commission which they should be trusted to use wisely as the occasion may require.

Section 22 of the Act has to do with the most important aspects of the rate-making power of the Commission. It states that upon complaint from the proper individual or corporation that a rate is too high or unjustly discriminatory or that the service is inadequate, an investigation may be held within ten days after the common carrier has been notified of the complaint. The common carrier is then allowed to submit evidence supporting its claim, and the whole procedure is much like that of a court. If the Commission finds that the rates are too high or that the service is inadequate it may order the carrier to substitute a reasonable rate, named by the Commission, or to furnish such adequate service as it may recommend. The order of the Commission is to go into effect when it so directs, and there is to be no change in that particular rate until two years have elapsed, without the approval of the Commission. Any railroad may appeal its case to the courts if it

is dissatisfied with any order of the Commission, which action must be begun in the Circuit Court in Chancery for Ingham County, and it must file its appeal within thirty days. The net result of several cases that have been appealed is that the complaining party has the weight of proving by clear and satisfactory evidence that the order is either unlawful or unreasonable. Furthermore, the power to review orders of the Commission is solely to determine whether the rates established are confiscatory, not to establish rates; if they are so found, the court is to refer the matter back to the Commission to fix other rates. And in the matter of complaint to the Commission in regard to the reasonableness of rates it is provided that the common carriers of the State have the same privilege of appealing to the Commission as any other party.

Seven paragraphs of Section 25 are not to be found in the old law. One paragraph provides that express companies are to be brought under the jurisdiction of the Commission; another states that they are not to depart from the schedules on file at each station which they are required to publish and to file; one paragraph lays down the basic merchandise schedule to be followed by the express companies; and the remaining paragraphs require them to continue these schedules as well as to forward their shipments by the nearest and most practical routes.

The Commission is given certain police powers over the railroads by one section of the Act which permits them to employ an expert to investigate bridges, equipment and structures believed to be unsafe, and if so found, the Commission may regulate the rate of speed of trains over the defective tracks

and bridges and may even prohibit the running of trains over the unsafe parts of such tracks.

Certain other sections of the Act relate to discriminations and rebates which of course are prohibited. These sections prohibit a common carrier from departing from the rates prescribed in the public tariffs, and make it unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of the Act to make or to give an undue preference or advantage to any person, firm, or corporation. Furthermore, it is provided that it is unlawful for any person to accept a rebate, concession or discrimination and penalties are provided both for the common carrier which gives the rebate, concession or discrimination and for the person who accepts it.

The foregoing comprise all the direct sections of the Act. Among the substantive parts are those requiring the officer, agent or employee of common carriers to fill out reports, to send in to the Commission copies of contracts which relate to the transportation of persons or property, to send in a list of all free tickets issued during the preceding year, to make an annual statement, to file their freight tariffs with the Commission, to report all accidents, and to issue bills of lading for the shipment of goods. In the matter of accounting, it is provided that as far as possible the accounts shall follow the classification laid down by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The miscellaneous sections of the law deal with the fees to be charged by the Commission for certain work, such as copies of documents and records. In this category may also be placed that section permitting the Commission to make further recommendations

for legislation relating to the conduct of the railroad business, also the one requiring it to hold hearings in regard to the altering of the laws relating to railroads when the Legislature directs it to do so. Two sections repealing previous laws relating to railroads and declaring each section of the Act separate, and that the holding of any part of the Act null and void does not in any way affect any other section or any other part, would also come under the miscellaneous parts of the Act.

By far the most important addition made to the powers of the Commission is that conferred by the famous Stock and Bond Act which gives them power over the securities sold by public service corporations. It is Act 144, P. A. 1909, and is entitled.

> An Act to regulate the issuance of stocks, bonds, and other evidences of indebtedness by persons, corporations, and associations owning, conducting and operating certain public utilities, and to provide a penalty for the violation thereof.

The law applies to telephone and telegraph companies, to companies producing or furnishing heat, light, water, or mechanical power and to all common carriers. After having secured the permission of the Commission which is based upon the opinion that such an issue of securities is required for the purpose of the corporation, they are allowed to issue stocks, bonds, notes and other evidences of indebtedness to run for more than twelve months for the following purposes:

1. For the acquisition of property.
2. For the construction, completion, extension or improvement of facilities.
3. For the improvement or maintenance of service.

4. For the discharge or lawful funding of obligations.

In order that the Commission may determine whether it should grant this permission it is given the power to hold investigations and hearings as well as to make appraisal of the property at the expense of the corporation. Moreover, the Supreme Court of the State of Michigan in the case of *The Peninsula Power Co. vs. the Secretary of State* held that a foreign corporation engaged in doing business of a public service sort in this State must also secure the consent of the Commission before it can begin operations in the State. This case has a very important bearing on some of the big problems presented to the Commission. It is sufficient for our purpose here to note that the law applies to corporations organized outside the State but doing business in the State. Were it otherwise, the Act would lose much of its value.

The members of the first Commission were Cassius L. Glasgow, James Scully and George W. Dickinson. They elected one of their number chairman and then proceeded with their work by assigning to one man all the problems dealing with the physical condition of the railroads, to a second the task of looking after all the legal matters, and to the third the problem of rates. This does not mean that each individual had complete control over that particular part of the problem but merely that in the first instance in order that the work might be expedited he was entrusted with it. The Commission as a body might either accept or reject his report as they saw fit.

Some conception of the task of the Commission may be gained from the number of cases handled each year. Up to January 1, 1909, the Commission

had received 890 complaints. Of this number 813 were adjusted without the expense and delay due to a formal hearing. Within 60 days after the Commission had been given jurisdiction over the issue of stocks and bonds they had received and passed upon 22 applications for the right to issue securities aggregating $107,000,000. During the year 1905, 1855 tariffs and supplements were filed; of this number 83 per cent had reductions in rates and 17 per cent had advances in rates. In the same year 128 hearings were held, 22 being for authority to issue stocks and bonds. In the following year there were presented to the Commission 174 complaints, of which 143 were settled by correspondence and the remaining 31 by formal hearings. As a result of 101 hearings held in the same year in regard to the issue of corporate securities, $113,000,000 of these securities was issued, the bulk of them during this year, as in every year, being issued by railroads. For the year 1911, $107,000,000 worth of securities was authorized by the Commission; of the 512 complaints received during the year, 482 were settled by correspondence and 30 by formal hearings. Moreover, we find that during this year the rates of the express companies which had been thought too high and were alluded to in the report for the year 1910 were reduced on an average of 19 per cent. An Act was also passed this year by means of which a telephone company had to secure a certificate of convenience of necessity from the Commission before it could secure a franchise and begin operations.

The Legislature for the year 1911 added to the jurisdiction of the Commission in certain cases. The most important was that telephone companies were

made common carriers and hence brought more directly under the control of the Commission; this Act was repealed and a still stronger one enacted by the Legislature of 1913. In this year we find that $140,000,000 worth of securities was authorized. In the following year we note a great decrease in the securities issued, as only $100,000,000 worth was authorized, but it is worth while to note that during this year there was a very marked increase in the securities issued by gas, light, and water companies. This period seems to mark the beginning of the development of many of the hydro-electric companies and we find that they are beginning to become important. In 1914 over $254,000,000 worth of securities was issued, the highest mark reached. In the following year it fell to $180,000,000.

Having noted some of this routine work let us turn attention to the attitude taken by the Commission toward such problems as the basis of rates, capitalization, the concept of going value and problems of that nature which in a very important sense constitute the heart of the problem of control.

Commissioner Lawton T. Hemans, who was in many respects one of the ablest men that ever served on the Commission and whose career was cut short by an untimely death, laid down in clear fashion what he considered to be the important basis for rate making in a case involving the reasonableness of a rate for the carrying of Portland cement. His words are as follows:

> The issue presented is—what is a reasonable rate for the movement of the commodity known as Portland cement? The reasonableness of a given rate depends upon many considerations, but all authorities are agreed

> that the chief basis for a railroad charge for transportation is the value of the said service rendered in transporting the product, or as it is generally stated—"What the traffic will bear."

In the case of the Pere Marquette Railroad Company and the Lake Shore Stone Company, the Commission seems to stress the social utility theory of rates, even though it does not mention it directly. The case involved the rate to be charged for a commodity of fertilizing properties; the company that was endeavoring to introduce this commodity was unable to do so because the rates charged by the carrier were so high it could not sell it; the rate was lowered. On this occasion the Commission said that the following factors were the controlling ones in the determination of rates:

1. Character of commodity.
2. Cost of production.
3. Value to consumer.
4. Purpose for which used.
5. Service demanded of carrier.
6. Proper rate to apply thereto.
7. Competitive conditions.

The case of The Peninsula Power Company has been referred to in connection with the constitutionality of the Stock and Bond Act insofar as it relates to corporations organized outside the State and doing business within the State. It is of significance also as representing the views of the Commission, because, while it does not lay down in a positive fashion the basis for capitalization, it does show that the Commission does not look with favor upon a procedure which has been too often permitted in the past to go unchallenged by many Commissions and Courts.

The facts of the case are important enough to warrant their presentation.

The Twin Falls Land Company, composed of men from Iron Mountain, Michigan and Madison, Wisconsin was organized under the laws of the State of Michigan. The capital stock was $50,000, which was later increased to $100,000. The purpose of the corporation as set forth in their articles of incorporation was "the purchasing, holding, selling and dealing in real estate." The corporation bought up considerable land on either side of the Menominee River for which they paid $100,000. This land was of such a nature that it was naturally adapted for a dam and the generation of power.

In the following year (1911) some men in Madison, Wisconsin organized the Peninsula Power Company, with a capital stock of $750,000, and their purpose was "the production, development and transmission for public purposes of electricity for light, heat, power, signals and other purposes." With a single exception the stockholders of this firm were the same as the previously mentioned one. The stock was fully issued and $750,000 paid in. The land that was bought by the Twin Falls Land Company for $100,000 was then sold to the Peninsula Power Company for $600,000. This last named company then sought admission to the State of Michigan as a foreign corporation. The Secretary of State refused, because the Railroad Commission had not given an order authorizing the stock issue. The corporation claimed that inasmuch as they had been incorporated under the laws of another State that they did not need to get this permission. The case came up to the Supreme Court of the State of Michigan and the decision was

adverse to the corporation. They then applied to the Commission for an order authorizing $750,000 of capital stock and a subsequent issue of $100,000 of preferred stock. Moreover, they also asked for permission to issue $1,000,000 worth of bonds. The petitioner justified its initial incorporation in the State of Wisconsin because of a statute requiring it to be organized in that State.[2] The Railroad Commission of Wisconsin had no discretion but to grant the capital prayed for in the petition. The Commission of this State likewise granted their petition for reasons that need not concern us except that it had not been judicially determined that foreign corporations came under its jurisdiction until this case had been adjudicated. Moreover, the securities had been sold and it was in a sense impossible to unscramble the eggs. However, the Commission made it plain that they would not in any way be bound by this decision in the future because of the peculiar conditions that existed at the time.

The part of the opinion that was given by Commissioner Hemans on the problem of capitalization is important. It is as follows:

> The value which is sought to be capitalized in such cases accrues not from the value of the material elements employed, purchased upon the open market, but from the monopolistic character of the business transacted . . . . The spirit of recent legislation including the Stock and Bond Act of Michigan, is to eliminate this factor as the essential basis for capitalization of Public Utility Corporations; that is, where fair competition in the things which the general public as such must buy is eliminated either by restrictions imposed by natural conditions or by franchises which the public grants, the excess of demand thus created of the corporation possessing the favorable

2. Section 1799, M-75, Laws of Wisconsin, 1907.

> franchise or natural advantage should not be allowed to result to the disadvantage of the general public and to the special advantage for the corporation controlling the right which the public has created or abandoned..... The principle which we do not recognize is the claimed right of a Public Utility Corporation to capitalize its exclusive privileges and to give to the elements it employs in the serving of the public, values which they do not have.

In this case the company justified its capitalization by saying that it could earn on the amount asked. It will be apparent at once, I think, that if such a procedure as the representatives of the company advocated were adopted for the purpose of capitalization, any capitalization would be allowed. If the company were able to earn on the proposed capitalization and if they were then to raise their rates, they would then have greater earnings and of course could pay higher dividends. With this lever they could then come to the Commission and, provided the Commission had allowed their original plan of capitalization, ask that their capitalization be increased. And this policy could be followed ad infinitum. Such a procedure is worse than ludicrous.

It was a general rule of the Commission not to permit the public service corporations to sell their bonds at less than 90 cents on the dollar. And in the past it followed a very conservative policy in capitalization, as is revealed by the report for 1910:

> The Commission is occasionally asked for authority to issue bonds for original construction work. If it be for new work in addition to existing property, such request is deemed reasonable, as the petitioner is only allowed to take down bonds on the basis of 90 per cent of expenditures previously made..... But when original construction work is proposed by a new corporation, we believe that

> it should issue its stock and from the proceeds of the same at par obtain its property and do its construction work, thus creating an entity of value which after its creation may be a proper security for a bond issue.

One of the most important problems presented to Commission for solution is the problem of going value. It is an intangible value and has perhaps because of that very element given rise to a great deal of discussion and much muddy thinking with the result that adequate regulation has been vitiated. I do not wish to be understood as saying that there is no such thing as going value, but it is essential to note that it has in many cases been imperfectly understood and applied. The very recent decision in the Detroit Telephone case not only gives us the idea of the Commission in regard to the problem of going value but it at the same time tells us the theory of valuation adopted by the Commission to find the rate base upon which the company was allowed to earn a reasonable rate of return.

The case came up because of the application of the Michigan State Telephone Company for authority to alter its rates in the Detroit Exchange district. The company claimed that the total revenue accruing from that particular section was insufficient to enable them to earn a fair return on the value of their property. Although the application was first filed in 1913, the first hearing did not take place until June, 1915. The Board of Commerce of Detroit opposed the increase in rates and the Commission handed down its decision in January of this year. The rates were increased in this case. In determining what was the value of the property of the company the Commission adopted the principle of cost-of-reproduction-less-depreciation,

the one usually adopted by Commissions and Courts. And in arriving at the figure—$10,913,191—the Commission allowed $835,215 for going value. In its opinion the Commission calls this the cost of establishing the business and their reasoning is as follows:

> This is an item supposedly representing the cost of establishing the business, putting in operation the various facilities provided for rendering service to the public. It might be said to represent the difference in value of a telephone exchange with each department supplied with efficient operatives at work; subscribers with telephones connected under contracts and receiving service; records of a going business being kept, and every department properly functioning with every other, in the conduct of the business of rendering service to the public; and the value of the same property, without operatives, without contracts, without subscribers, and without records of business,—in fact a quantity of property and materials adapted to a specific use, but unused.
>
> It will be conceded that, purely as a matter of value, the live, going exchange is worth at least as much more than the dormant one as it would cost to put the dormant exchange into active condition. It would be equally justifiable to omit, from the value of the property, the cost of erecting the building and assembling and constructing the exchange, as to omit the cost of building a business incidental to the plant. The bricks and mortar, the wire, cable, poles, switchboards, batteries,—the hundreds of parts constituting the material necessary to complete telephone property, have a certain value unassembled. When they have been used in the erection of buildings, and the construction of a telephone exchange, their value is increased by what it cost to put them in that condition, but they have not then attained their highest value. It is the conduct of the business to which they are adapted that they have reached the limit of their value. The latter increase of value represents the fair cost of establishing the business.
>
> Various rates of allowances have been fixed by Commissions as proper for the cost of establishing the business. In the matter of the application of the Michigan Northern Power Company, in which the order of this Commission

> was made and filed on June 11th, 1913, seven per cent upon the estimated cost of the physical property was determined as a fair allowance, in advance to cover the cost of establishing the business. It was remarked in the order that if the amount proved too small, it might be increased. This was in the case of an hydro-electric plant, where the initial cost of physical property is comparatively large. There would be a substantial difference between the cost of establishing such a business, and a telephone business. In the telephone business many trained operators are necessary, and a great number of skilled employes required, to do the very things necessary in rendering reasonably efficient telephone service.
>
> In view of this Commission having established a precedent of an allowance of seven per cent, in advance, based upon the *original* investment in a hydro-electric property, and in view of the findings and determinations of other Commissions, the Commission would seem to be justified, if not required, to make an allowance of at least eight per cent, upon the value of the tangible property of the Michigan State Telephone Company for the cost of estimating the Business, or Going Concern Value.

I have underscored the word "original" because the Commission has proceeded upon the hypothesis that what was done in the case of allowing capitalization based upon original cost is the same policy to be pursued in the case where valuation is based upon cost-of-reproduction-less-depreciation. The case was appealed to the court and Judge Wiest refused to allow the item of going value and intimated that if he were not bound by the decision in the case of *City and County of Denver vs. Denver Union Water Company* recently handed down by the United States Supreme Court he would be inclined to base valuation upon original cost.

And so the Commission has grappled with the new problems that have been presented to it. It has been in process of evolution and of development, not reaching

the acme of perfection, because it was not to be reached. But its development typifies the development of many of our State Railroad Commissions, and as such its history is worthy of a more detailed study than can here be given.

At two sessions of the Legislature previous to that of 1919, an attempt was made to abolish the Michigan Railroad Commission and create a Public Utilities Commission, but in each instance the wide difference of opinion as to the extent of control which should be given such a body over the public utilities of the State prevented passage of the bill.

During the two years following the Session of 1917, considerable sentiment was created throughout the State relative to Home Rule for cities and villages, each such municipality desiring to control not only its own facilities, but any and all others, regardless of ownership, as to the service rendered to the inhabitants of such municipalities, and to regulate the charge made therefor.

During the Legislative Session of 1919, the question of creating such a Commission proved to be one of the most important before the Legislature. Ten bills in all were considered. Finally, and during the last forty-eight hours of the Session, the Lemire-Brower Bill, a decidedly compromise measure, was passed and given immediate effect, which, when signed by the Governor on May 15, 1919, abolished the Michigan Railroad Commission and established the Michigan Public Utilities Commission.

The principal features of the new bill, which does not repeal any of the Acts under which the Railroad Commission exercised its authority, are as follows:

1. The number of members is increased from three to five.
2. Their terms of office are reduced from six to four years.
3. Changes the expiration of such terms from one of the three Commissioners every two years to all five Commissioners every four years.
4. Increases the salary from $3,000 to $7,000 per annum.
5. Instead of the salaries of the Secretary, Chief Clerk, and Engineer being fixed by statute, the salaries of all employes are to be fixed by the Commission.
6. Gas Plants were included as among those utilities which would be under the jurisdiction of the Commission.
7. The new Act specifically excludes the Commission from exercising any authority whatever over the municipally owned and operated utilities but requires such Commission to render assistance and give advice to any municipality applying therefor.
8. Any and all parties applying to the Commission for authority to issue securities are required to pay therefore a sum equal to one-tenth of one per cent of the face value of the securities authorized, with a minimum of Fifty Dollars.

The Commission acting, as it must, under several separate and distinct acts, is admittedly not an ideal condition and the bill recently passed is therefore far from satisfactory, but it is generally conceded that the Utilities Commission having been established, a new and comprehensive Act embodying all the present Acts now in force and making such additions thereto as deemed advisable, can be passed by succeeding Legislatures.

The members of the Utilities Commission, as appointed by the Governor, are

William M. Smith, St. Johns
Samuel Odell, Shelby
Sherman T. Handy, Sault Ste Marie
William W. Potter, Hastings
Earle R. Stewart, Grand Rapids

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THE Fourth Upper Peninsula Meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held at Menominee Aug. 6 and 7, jointly with the Menominee County Historical Society, was a credit to the spirit of the Peninsula and the enterprise of the organizations represented. The meeting's success was largely due to the untiring work of Mr. A. L. Sawyer, trustee of the State society and one of the founders of the Menominee society. Mr. Sawyer labored early and late to make this meeting significant for the entire Peninsula and met with cheering response from every county. Credit is due to the Secretary of the Menominee organization, Mr Howard E. Nadeau, for distinguished executive work in making and carrying through the local arrangements for the entertainment of guests and the general welfare of the meeting.

The forenoon of the first day was devoted to an automobile drive which started from convention headquarters at the Hotel Menominee at 10 o'clock, and visiting delegates and guests were given a very enjoyable ride to points of scenic and historic interest in the city and neighboring country.

We were informed that the site of convention headquarters was that of the first hotel in Menominee, noted

for its spinning of yarns. It was known as Quimby Tavern, having been built by an early settler, John Quimby. At West Menominee Park the Menominee Chapter D. A. R. had placed a large boulder with suitable inscription to mark the Green Bay and Bay du Noc Indian trail over which the Indians traveled from the far south to Lake Superior in conducting their traffic; it marks also Burying Ground Point which extends to Bridge Street and was an Indian burying ground. This marker was dedicated as a part of the program, on the following afternoon.

At the Wisconsin end of Bridge Street bridge we came upon Mission Point, so named because it is supposed the Catholic Mission of 1670 was located there; a Methodist missionary established a mission there about 1830, which was maintained about three years.

On the riverside just west of the railroad crossing we passed the site of the first stockade and trading post established by Louis Chappee, who came about 1796; which site became later the trading post of John B. Jacobs, the home of "Queen" Marinette, and the first boat landing on the river. Across the river on the Michigan side is the site of the Sturgeon War, between the Chippewas and Menominees about 1670; the Menominees dammed the river, preventing the sturgeon from going up stream; the Chippewas, located above, came down and from ambush attacked and nearly exterminated the Menominees.

At the Michigan end of Paper Mill bridge, on the east side of the street, is the site of the home of Charles McLeod, who came in 1832, and who built the first frame house in Menominee on this site; twelve Indian bodies, with their war implements, were found in digging the cellar.

The drive was continued to the John Henes Park, one of the most beautiful parks in all out-doors, a gift to the city by the honored citizen whose name it bears. Luncheon to all delegates and visiting guests was served by the D. A. R. and church organizations in the pavilion in the park, there being present Mr. Henes himself, Governor Albert E. Sleeper, Mayor Doyle, and some 500 other guests and delegates.

After luncheon an enjoyable program was given. Mr. A. L. Sawyer presiding in the enforced absence of President Fred M. Prescott. The invocation was delivered by Rev. H. E. Duttweiler. The Menominee Municipal Orchestra furnished music. A hearty address of welcome, given by Mayor M. J. Doyle, was responded to by Secretary G. N. Fuller of the State Historical Society, who also read a paper of greetings and historical instruction from President A. C. Carton whose mining interests in Colorado prevented his being present. Governor Sleeper spoke enthusiastically of his interest in the meeting and in the Upper Peninsula, and particularly of the resources of the Peninsula which were making history for Michigan. In the community singing which followed, Mr. W. H. Ounsworth of Menominee demonstrated his ability as a community leader and left us no room to guess why he holds such a warm place in the hearts of the people of Menominee. Prof. Gilbert L. Brown, of the Northern State Normal School at Marquette, prepared and discussed an excellent paper on methods of Americanization in the Upper Peninsula used in his recent sociological investigations.

In the evening at the Boys' Club building on State Street, Secretary Howard E. Nadeau presiding, a program was given, with the returned soldiers and sailors,

members of the G. A. R., and Spanish War Veterans as guests of honor. The meeting was opened with a rousing community sing led by Mr. Ounsworth. Mr. Cook gave a spirited reading that was highly appreciated. Father Gagnieur entertained the audience with a talk on Indian music, accompanied with piano demonstrations. One of the most delightful numbers of any of the sessions was the informal talk given by Mrs. H. A. Vennema on the D. A. R. Boys' Club. Mrs. Vennema is chairman of the Club and a natural leader of boys. The charm of the address was its spirit of devoted service which the speaker so evidently thoroughly enjoyed. Mr. George N. Fuller, secretary of the State Historical Society and of the Michigan Historical Commission discussed briefly the history of these organizations, their relation to similar State and national bodies, their principal contributions to historical work in Michigan through collecting and publishing and cooperative activities with local patriotic and historical societies. Mrs. D. M. Wilcox of Menominee sang "Michigan, My Michigan," after which Rev. Father William F. Gagnieur, S. J., last of the Indian Missionaries, from Sault Ste. Marie, read a most interesting paper entitled, "A Short Review of Most Notable Events in the History of Sault Ste. Marie, with Some Gleanings." The evening was closed by Mrs. E. H. Redeman of Marinette, Wis., who sang Cadman's "I Hear a Thrush at Eve" and Del Rigo's "Happy Song."

The morning session of Thursday was held in the Spies Public Library, beginning at 10 o'clock, Secretary Fuller presiding. Miss Louis E. Madden sang "Will o' the Wisp." Mrs. A. L. Sawyer followed with an interesting paper on "The Past, Present and Future

of Menominee." Miss Helen Bradner, of Powers, sang Ashford's "My Thought of You." Much interest was aroused by Prof. Lew Allen Chase, the new head of the history department in the Northern State Normal at Marquette, by a very convincing discussion of methods of historical work applied to State history. Special attention was called to the importance of diligently collecting the source material for Michigan's history, of writing scholarly monographs from this material, and of stirring public interest in doing this in view of what our neighboring States are achieving. He pointed out the fact that Michigan is far behind other States in this work, and that the State Historical Commission at Lansing has been organized none too soon to compete with very strong work being done just beyond our borders. Following Prof. Chase, Hon. James B. Knight, of Norway, editor of *The Current* gave in a very pleasing manner some interesting personal reminiscences of Dickinson County forty years ago. Mr. Thomas Conlin, of Crystal Falls, editor of *The Diamond Drill*, read a paper on "The High Lights of Iron County." Rev. David Shugg, of Stephenson, in a rich full baritone sang "Thora" to the delight of his audience. Following the program luncheon was served by the M. E. Women's Society in the Church Parlors.

At 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon began the dedicatory proceedings in the marking of the Green Bay and Bay Du Noquet Indian trail under the auspices of the Menominee Chapter D. A. R., Mrs. C. H. Hutchinson, Regent, presiding. The dedicatory address was delivered by Rev. A. W. Bill of Menominee. The marker was unveiled by Morrison and Wellsley McCormick, following which a delightful and instructive musical

pageant of the war, "To Arms for Liberty," by Catherine Bryce, was given under the direction of Iszola Joslyn, supervisor of music in Menominee schools, with Helen Blahnik at the piano and the Menominee Municipal Orchestra accompanying.

The closing session was held Thursday evening in the Spies Public Library, Mr. F. J. Trudell presiding. The Municipal Orchestra was on hand with a liberal supply of lively music. Mr. Ounsworth favored the audience with several vocal selections. Mr. James F. Lyon gave in his charmingly modest manner some well chosen recollections of early days in Menominee. Mrs. Ruth Brooks read for her mother, Mrs. Lewis T. Sterling of Iron Mountain, a paper prepared by Mrs. Sterling entitled, "On the Menominee with Weabinyket," being a sketch of early days when the still beautiful Menominee River in its windings through virgin forests was navigated by the native in his birch-bark; the paper was founded on a diary of actual experiences and observations, and pleasing extracts from the diary inserted here and there in the paper proved very entertaining. Following, Mrs. J. H. Vernet sang Harriet Ware's "Sunlight Walz Song". Two addresses of the evening were specially notable. Rev. Charles J. Johnson, A.M., D.D., of Marquette, who came as a delegate from the Marquette County Historical Society, read an elaborate paper on "Promoting the Progress of Local Historical Research and Record," and Mr. John A. Doelle, also of Marquette, and Secretary-Manager of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau, gave an historical sketch of the work of that organization, and incidentally described the origin and progress of the Keeweenaw Historical Society, of which he was one of the founders and most active workers.

In concluding the program, Chairman Trudell announced that in the absence of President Fred M. Prescott, he would himself deliver the address Mr. Prescott was to have given, and was glad of the opportunity. The subject of Mr. Prescott's address was "Come Again". Turning to the audience Mr. Trudell discoursed as follows: "Ladies and Gentlemen, come again." And the gracious tone of the speaker was convincing. The hearty applause was assurance that a first rate good time had been enjoyed and that the invitation was unanimously accepted. The session was followed by a reception in the historical rooms of the library devoted to Michigan historical material museum.

In a short business meeting intervening, a resolution relating to the centennial celebration of the birth of the political and commercial independence of the Upper Peninsula was read by Charles J. Johnson which had been by him offered at the recent meeting of the Marquette County Historical Society held in the Peter White Public Library on the evening of Aug. 1, 1919, and unanimously adopted with instructions that the Chippewa County Historical Society be apprised of their action, and that if the Society were favorable, an invitation be extended to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society to hold its fifth Upper Peninsula meeting at Sault Ste. Marie.

Mr. A. L. Sawyer moved the resolution be adopted by the members of the Convention present, as an expression of their hearty sympathy with the movement to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the first coming of the Stars and Stripes to Cloverland, at Sault Ste. Marie in the year 1920. The motion was seconded by George N. Fuller of the State Historical Society and unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The resolution read as follows:

Whereas, under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, September 3, 1783, the jurisdiction of the Northwest Territory was ceded by Great Britain to the United States of America; and

Whereas, this cession was rendered nugatory by the British military authorities, who, instead of vacating the relinquished territory, retained possession of its strategic strongholds and uniformly opposed every attempt on the part of the Federal Government to occupy the Northwestern posts, until 1796, when in compliance with the Jay Treaty the posts of Detroit and Mackinac, together with others, were surrendered to the United States of America, after a delay of thirteen years; and

Whereas, the exercise of American sovereignty in the Upper Peninsula did not immediately supervene with the occupation of the military posts at Mackinac Island; for, its effect so far as it related to our Upper Country did hardly more than to change the garrison from an English to an American one, producing no alteration in the essential character of its political and commercial life, which continued as before dominantly British, so that the transfer of sovereignty in 1796 was merely one in form, not in fact, and the territory of the Northern Peninsula continued its existence as a potential, but not an actual part of the United States of America; and

Whereas, America's technical rule in the Upper Peninsula came to an end on the 16th day of June, 1820, on which day and date the Federal Government entered and took formal possession of the Upper Peninsula, successfully asserted its authority and effectually exercised its sovereignty, by virtue of which our

Upper Country for the first time since its cession in 1783 fell under the actual jurisdiction of the Federal Government, thereby forming the Northern Peninsula into a real, constituent and permanent part of the United States of America; and

Whereas, countless benefits have accrued to State and Nation by the unfolding of actual American sovereignty in the Upper Peninsula through the introduction of its laws and its letters, its agriculture and its industry; and in view of the marvelous changes wrought, the remarkable development and rapid advancement of our Upper Country, during this century; and in view of a just appreciation of the struggles and sacrifice of adventurous frontiersmen and hardy pioneer spirits, whose unremitting toil have contributed so vastly towards magnificent results, and for whom we cherish the highest regard and esteem; and in view of the near approach of the one hundredth anniversary of this momentous event which, if suitably commemorated, would tend to increase and diffuse local historical knowledge, and also would tend to quicken a more deep and wide range of interest in the plans and purposes of the future which are confronting citizens of our modern Cloverland, who, if not founders, yet as builders, are earnestly seeking and energetically striving to give shape and substance to the dreams and hopes of their far-sighted forerunners and predecessors;

Now, therefore, be it RESOLVED, by the Marquette County Historical Society, that it regards the one hundredth anniversary of the first coming of the Stars and Stripes to Cloverland as an epoch-making event, eminently worthy of a wide commemoration, and, to that end, the President is hereby respectfully requested to appoint a committee, whose duty it shall

be to make proper provision for a fitting Centennial Celebration of the birth of Cloverland's political and economic independence.

It may be added that the citizens of Sault Ste. Marie, upon being apprised of the action taken by historical bodies at Marquette and Menominee and realizing the significance the proposed celebration might have for the entire Peninsula, were heartily in favor of having a mammoth meeting there next year which should show what the Peninsula has achieved in the past 100 years in all lines of endeavor.

PIONEER AND HISTORICAL NEWS FROM THE COUNTIES

THE NEWLY ORGANIZED PIONEER and historical activities of Alger, Bay, Chippewa and Mackinac counties were reported in the *Michigan History Magazine* for July, 1919, on pages 315–318.

The Three Oaks Historical Society, Berrien County, has issued a very neat little program for the year 1919–1920. The society meets regularly on the second Wednesday of each month from September to June, inclusive, in the Historical Room of the Chamberlain Memorial Museum at Three Oaks. The officers for the coming year are: President, Mrs. Edward K. Warren; Vice-President, Mr. Fred Edinger; Secretary, Mr. George R. Fox; Treasurer, Mrs. Martha A. Wilson. Special attention is called to Pioneers' Day, May 12, and all are urged to so arrange their affairs that on that day they can be in Three Oaks, meeting old friends and enjoying the program.

The program for the entire year is as follows: Sept. 10, "Coxey's Army in Three Oaks," Miss Grace

Allen; "Early Bands and other Musical Organizations," Peter Strehle.—Oct. 8, "Early Lawyers and Justice Shops in Three Oaks" G. N. Valentine.—Nov. 12, "Address and Conference with Historical Workers," Dr. G. N. Fuller, Secretary Historical Commission of Michigan.—Dec. 10, "Early Election Campaigns," Henry Chamberlain; "The Shedd Family," Mrs. Martha A. White.—Jan. 14, "Ice Cream, Ice Cream Parlors and Confectionery in Three Oaks," Henry Crosby, Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Crosby and Mrs. Wm. Klute.—Feb. 11, "Early Inventors and Patents in Three Oaks," Mrs. Alice W. Parrey.—Mar. 10, "Anecdotes of Early Days," Mr. and Mrs. G. A. Carrier, and Mrs. M. A. Wilson.—Apr. 14, "Early Dentists and Dentistry in Three Oaks," Dr. T. H. McKenzie.—May 12, "Pioneers' Day."—June 9, "Aeroplanes," Lieut. Kenneth Holden; "Electricity in Three Oaks," J. A. Cavanaugh.

Mrs. C. L. Pearce, secretary of the Clinton County Pioneer Society, gives an extended account of the forty-sixth annual meeting of that organization, in the *Clinton Republican*, stating that the meeting was held June 14 at the Methodist Church. The account contains the deaths of twenty-five members since the last meeting, reported by Mrs. Abbie E. Dills, chairman of the obituary committee. Among the number of pioneers whose birthplaces are known, we find that one was born in Ireland, one in England, one in Canada, four in New York, three in Ohio, and nine in Michigan. The secretary states that eleven new members were added to the society since last year's meeting.

Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, curator of the State Museum, gave an instructive talk on the Weissert bills, which

authorize boards of supervisors to appropriate $200 in any one year to mark historic sites and a similar additional amount to further the historical interests of the county in a general way. A committee of three was then appointed, consisting of A. E. Dills, Mr. Gunnison and Jay Sessions to arrange with the board of supervisors for this fund.

The secretary and treasurer of the society were elected delegates to attend the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society in Lansing in May, 1920.

Officers were elected as follows: President, Theodore H. Townsend, Vice-President, Jerome Dills; Secretary, Mrs. C. L. Pearce; Treasurer, Mr. J. T. Daniells; Chairman of obituary committee, Mrs. Abbie E. Dills. The coming year will round out twenty years of faithful service for Mrs. Pearce as secretary.

The meeting was well attended throughout, and the fine program of papers and reminiscences and music was enjoyed by all, the principal address being given by Rev. Amos Watkins of the Episcopal Church, on "The Pioneer."

In the following August the Clinton County Pioneer picnic was held on the school grounds in Dewitt. It was very noticeable that the ranks of the older pioneers are fast thinning, as only nineteen were present. In the address of welcome Mr. Jerome Dills called attention to the enterprise of citizens in marking historic sites in the vicinity. The address of the day was given by Hon. N. P. Hull of Lansing. Pioneers gave many interesting reminiscences which were greatly enjoyed, especially by the young people.

On July 1 to 4, the city of Flint enjoyed a four-day

festival commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Flint by Jacob Smith. As a souvenir of the occasion the centennial committee issued a neat little booklet containing a summary of the early history of Flint and a descriptive list of twenty-four historic sites which it would be proper for the city of Flint at some time in the future to mark permanently and in a fitting manner; the report was prepared by Mr. W. C. Cumings, Mr. F. H. Rankin, and Mr. W. V. Smith, members of the sub-committee on historic sites.

The program of festivities included a Registration Day, when visitors and descendents of old families were invited to register at the Masonic Temple and receive centennial badges, and assistance was given visitors in securing accommodations; Genesee County Day, given over to an old settlers' picnic, pioneer reminiscences and historical addresses; Industrial Day, occupied with the industrial history of Flint and Genesee County; ending with a climax on Patriotic Day, June 4, with a grand parade, presentation of service rings to soldiers and sailors of the Great War, and a patriotic mass meeting. At this meeting Lt. Col. Guy Wilson presided. The address was given by Brig. Gen. Edwin B. Winans, son of Michigan's former Governor and commanding general of Michigan's infantry brigade of the famous 32nd (Red Arrow) Division.

The Flint *Daily Journal* gives an interesting account of the annual summer pioneer picnic enjoyed by the pioneers of Genesee County at Long Lake. The *Journal* observes, "The attendance showed somewhat of a decrease from other years, due probably to the

fact that this is an off year in politics and there was little to be accomplished in the way of mending political fences." Next year ought to be a record breaker. There were many family gatherings. Games and contests were included in a splendid program of "eats" and "symposiums." The picnic took the form of a Victory celebration, and victory and its fruits provided the chief topic of the two principal speakers, Rev. George Emerson Barnes of the First Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Howard A. Field of the Court Street M. E. Church. They spoke at length of what America had accomplished in the war, urged the importance of listening to the counsels of those who are well informed, and of exercising patience and forbearance during the adjustment of the extreme difficulties growing out of the unrest produced by war.

The *Record-Eagle*, Traverse City, prints the following:

"Grand Traverse Region's Old Settlers' Association will assemble for its annual get-together session in 1920 at Northport. Several other towns put in bids for the meeting at the thirty-eighth yearly session, held here this week, but Northport was selected, as the association has not assembled there for twelve years.

Dr. R. E. Flood of Northport will head the organization the coming year as president. W. H. Anderson of Kewadin was selected vice-president at large. Mrs. William Love retains her post as secretary, W. S. Anderson remains treasurer, and Mrs. E. S. Pratt, historian. Vice-presidents for the counties included in the association are: Grand Traverse, E. O. Ladd; Antrim; O. J. Powers, Elk Rapids; Leelanau, Robert Ahgosa; Kalkaska, Dr. Babcock; Charlevoix, Capt.

S. M. Rose; Emmet, Mrs. Edith Fasquelle, Petoskey; Benzie, E. T. Huntington, Benzonia.

Among important matters taken up at this year's session was that of erecting a memorial to E. S. Wait. It was revealed that already the Brotherhood of the Congregational Church has the project well started. However, the proffered aid of the Old Settlers' Association and the Woman's Club is greatly appreciated and will be utilized. It is planned to erect a memorial monument near Bowers Harbor, at the spot where Mr. Wait taught the first school in the region.

Preliminary plans were also made for forming individual branch county organizations of the association, so that greatest benefit may be gained from Michigan legislation which stipulates that county boards of supervisors may make annual appropriations for preserving the traditions of the respective localities which they represent. The matter is to be taken under advisement, and it is probable that a definite report will be available in the near future.

Aside from the program previously announced in these columns, which was carried out to the letter, several particularly amusing impromptu features were added. G. Lote Silver, representing one of the oldest families in Grand Traverse, favored the gathering with several very pleasing vocal solos. Archie Miller, who now enjoys the distinction of being the oldest white child born in this region, was called upon to talk and sing a bit in the Indian tongue. Robert Ahgosa joined him in the Ottawa and Chippewa songs. Then some one spied an Indian woman in the audience and persuaded her to assist. She is Mrs. Pah-Quon-Gu, and the beautiful quality of her voice delighted the entire assembly.

Howard Whiting, Fred Pratt and Thomas Shane have been appointed a committee to introduce another novelty next year at Northport. It is planned to have an old-time horse race. Professionals will be absolutely barred, and rules of the previous century will govern the contest. No one can understand how an association gathering could be more successful than the one held here this week, but nevertheless every effort is to be made toward this end for 1920."

Mrs. Florence Gwinn of Pigeon writes as follows:

The midsummer meeting and picnic of the Huron County Pioneer and Historical Society was a most enjoyable occasion. The day was fine and the scenery at the "Broken Rocks" beautiful. Many pioneers were there to tell the "tales of yore." Ten of them had become residents of this county before the 60's.

Mrs. Sarah Kimball Case who came in '53 gave an excellent talk on "The Days of Yore." She was also the hostess of the society that day. Capt. McDonald told of his experiences in Port Austin when but a boy. Mrs. Philip Carroll gave a paper entitled "Recollections of the Past." There was also another paper given by Mr. H. Smith who has lived fifty-four years in Huron County. Then we had an hour given over to informal talks by pioneers present. This proved to be an interesting part of the splendid program.

We secured several new members for the society and everything is in fine condition.

Through the efforts of the society four fine parks along the shore of the bay and lake have been given to the county for public parks. The park given at Caseville is especially good. It consists of about twelve acres of timbered land on the Saginaw Bay.

Already $600 had been expended in improvements there by the former owners. This gift was from Messrs. Wallace, Tack and Curran. Another park situated at Bay Port was also given by the Wallace's, and a small one at Port Austin by John Wallace, a brother to W. H. Wallace of Saginaw. The park at Port Hope was a gift from the Stafford estate. The beginning of the whole affair was the result of a suggestion offered by Governor Sleeper at our meeting last year. We feel proud of what has been accomplished during the year and hope to have improvements made in all of these parks by another year.

We are planning to have a midwinter meeting at Bad Axe and shall try to get a speaker for that occasion.

I am busy preparing a history of Huron County in early times and expect to have it completed some time this fall.

Mrs. Franc L. Adams, secretary of the Ingham County Pioneer and Historical Society writes:

The Forty-seventh annual meeting of the Ingham County Pioneer and Historical Society was held in Mason, June 13, 1919. Although the attendance was small the intense interest manifested more than atoned for this. The president, Col. L. H. Ives, presided, and brushing all formality aside, he made of the meeting a genuine love-feast.

The musical part of the program consisted of an original song by E. A. Densmore, vocal solos by Ralph S. Adams and Marian Taylor, and community singing.

The principal speaker was Dr. G. N. Fuller, secretary of the State Historical Commission. One of his first remarks was regarding the inspiration to be gained from an enthusiastic historical society. "Such meetings," he said, "are the dynamos from which we get

our power," and it required no stretch of the imagination to tell that the speaker himself was one of the live wires. He spoke of Michigan's first historical society founded in 1828, with Lewis Cass as its first president, and of its successor, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, which was organized in 1874, and he gave the history of the Michigan Historical Commission. He was very enthusiastic in regard to county historical work, and hoped to see an historical society in every county in Michigan. He mentioned the new State building soon to be erected, in which would be rooms for the Historical Commission's work. He advocated having county museums wherever possible. A part of his time was devoted to explanation of the Weissert Bill which recently became a law. Immediately following his talk a resolution was presented and adopted, in which the president was asked to appoint a committee of three to go before the board of supervisors at their next session and ask them to make an appropriation of $200, or a part of that sum, to be used for county historical work as provided for in the Bill.

Mr. C. H. Landrum, Superintendent of Schools at Washington, Kansas, was present and told of the progress Kansas has made in historical work and how liberally she expends money for this cause.

Miss Florence Fuller of Lansing gave "The First Settler's Story," by Carleton, in a manner pleasing to the audience.

The secretary reported that sixty-four pioneers had died during the year, and none of them had lived in the county less than forty years.

Special tribute was paid to those who had been most active in the Society. Mrs. M. B. Ferrey who had known Hon. H. R. Pattengill for many years,

spoke of his work as secretary of the State Historical Society as one of three distinctive and important services rendered by him. He stood high in the ranks of educators in the country, not alone for disseminating book learning; he never let slip an opportunity to teach patriotism of the most loyal variety, and his love and reverence for the United States flag was a part of his everyday life. He was the pioneer who brought about community singing, and "The Knapsack" and "Pat's Pick" are lasting memorials of his work in that line. Mrs. Ferrey expressed a desire that a statue in honor of this remarkably versatile man should be placed in the new State building soon to be erected, and without doubt this sentiment will be sanctioned by every Michigan resident who knows of the man and his work —and, who does not?

Judge and Mrs. Geo. W. Bristol, whose names have been associated with the Ingham County Pioneer and Historical Society since its earliest days, have answered the call of the Death Angel during the last year. Col. L. H. Ives eulogized Mr. Bristol, with whom he had been closely connected in various societies for fifty years. He was a member of the Ingham County Bar, but never pleaded at the bar, though he had probably settled more estates than any other man in the county. Mrs. Franc L. Adams paid gracious tribute to the memory of Mrs. Bristol as she sketched her life and work. She was truly an Ingham County pioneer; was born in Delhi Township, and her entire life of seventy-three years was spent within a few miles of her birth-place.

Mrs. Adams spoke of what the society owed to Henry D. Baldwin of Onondaga, who died a few days previous to the meeting. He it was who furnished data regarding John Champe and family that made a

remarkable story of Revolutionary days and the days of 1812. He also located several Indian trails and the site of the camp used by the Pottawattomies when they were taken from Michigan and carried across the Mississippi. Mrs. Ferrey also mentioned Mrs. Ellen Burton Judson, who served for one year as secretary of the State Pioneer and Historical Society and was one of the trustees for some time.

A. C. Clark of Lansing read a sketch telling of events in the lives of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. E. S. Clark, who came to Ingham Township at an early day.

Mrs. Warren Avels of East Lansing read a letter written by her mother, Mary E. Olds Huntoon, in 1860, to her cousin I. N. Wolcott, who died last year. He was in California at that time; the letter said, "This is a very sickly place. Much fever and ague, though no deaths as yet. Politics is the exciting subject just how, and on Sept. 6 there is to be a big mass meeting in Lansing, and among other noted speakers will be Gov. Seward. The sum of $1,000 is to be raised to pay for a free dinner as people are coming from all over the state. But maybe I better inquire about your politics first; are you a Douglas man, or a Breckenridge man, or are you an admirer of the "railsplitter"? Anyhow, unless you are a good strong Republican you better stay away from Michigan, for Democrats are not thought much of here."

Portions from a letter written in 1838 by John H. Childs told of this section, which he was then traveling through; he told of a settlement in the woods of Ingham County, where were twenty or thirty houses and a few business places, which he heard people say would undoubtedly be the county seat in a few years. As

Mason became the county seat in 1840, without doubt he referred to that village.

The society voted to make two changes in the routine work which it is hoped will arouse the enthusiasm of the people throughout the county. The first was to have a midyear meeting held at some village in the county, the program to be purely historical and social, the business of the year to be done at the annual meeting held at Mason in June. The officers realize that unless some effort is made to collect the pioneer history of the county, it will be lost in the oblivion of the past, and even now much of it must come to us second-hand and traditionally.

The second innovation planned is to try and have all the newspapers in the county print once each month a list of five questions pertaining to early history, asking that replies be sent to Franc L. Adams, the secretary of the society, at Mason, Mich.

The announcements sent out by the society this year contained six queries of this nature, but no written answers were received. When they were read at the meeting by the president, there were several pioneers who told interesting incidents recalled to their minds by these questions. The first question: Do you remember the big mass meeting held on the Hogsback the year the Republican party was born? Some remembered that there was such a meeting held, with a barbecue at its close, but more recalled a big mass meeting in the latter part of October, 1860, which was also held on the Hogsback, and to which people from all over this part of the State came. J. T. Bullen of Aurelius told of being there and hearing the notable speech made by Cassius M. Clay, which was given in full by the *Ingham County News* of that date. "There

came near being a riot, said Mr. Bullen, "when an ardent admirer of Stephen A. Douglas resented Mr. Clay's remarks, and jumped to his feet waving a Douglas flag and began hurrahing for Douglas at the top of his voice." The paper which published the account of the meeting completes the story thus:

"Members of the audience started to remove the flag, when Mr. Clay said, 'Friends, don't do that, let the flag alone, it can do no harm.' There was considerable sensation in the crowd and Mr. Clay again said, 'Let it alone. This is a thing I have worked for all my life, toleration. I know it is bad manners in the man to place it there, but it would be worse for us, who know better, to pull it down.'"

The second question was intended to draw out some history concerning the Lansing-Howell plank road. Several remembered this once famous turnpike, and R. J. Bullen told of driving over it once with a load, and recalled the surprise manifested by his team when their feet struck the dirt at the end of the plank road.

Many had clear recollections of the time when the first railroad in the county was built, and Mrs. Delevan Smith remembered going on the first passenger train to Bay City and back when a free ride was given.

No one could tell where the first county drain was located, nor where the first school house was built, though Dr. Randall of Dansville said his wife's mother taught the first school. Several could tell when the county seat was located at Mason, and one man told that the first fair held in the county was held on the ground where the court house now stands.

The secretary had secured considerable early history of the county through searching the files of the *Ingham County News*, and much very valuable data concerning

Aurelius Township, through being allowed to copy the papers that were later sealed in the corner stone of the remodeled Union Church at North Aurelius.

The following officers were re-elected: President, Col. L. H. Ives; Vice-president, R. J. Bullen; Secretary, Franc L. Adams; Treasurer, W. M. Webb. The latter has been treasurer for over twenty-five consecutive years.

A committee from the society consisting of E. A. Densmore, Richard Bullen and Mrs. Adams appeared before the county board of supervisors at the June meeting to plead for an appropriation under the bill passed by the last legislature, and after the matter was laid before them a committee was appointed of three Supervisors, Hall, Waller and Clement, to confer with the other members of the board and try to create a sentiment in favor of letting the Pioneer Society have a sum of money sufficient to start the work of preserving Ingham County history.

From the *Iosco County Gazette* we learn that the first midwinter meeting of the Iosco County Pioneer and Historical Society was held at the court house in Tawas City, Feb. 27, 1919. Attorney Hartingth told of the Iosco Bar, having known the lawyers and judges personally. Mr. Jackson, an editor from East Tawas pictured the lumber-jacks of pioneer days. Mrs. Anderson, one of the very early settlers gave some very interesting reminiscences. Mrs. Ferrey from the Michigan Historical Commission spoke to the high school pupils in the morning, at the court house in the afternoon, and next day before the Women's Club who were arranging for an historical pageant. The annual meeting of the society was set for August, to

be held at the Hemlock Road, but no account of this meeting has reached us.

The Bulletin of the Grand Rapids Public Library has published from time to time interesting items on Michigan history and the work of the Grand Rapids Historical Society; from this source we learn that the annual meeting of the organization for 1919 was held in the Historical Room of the Library on Feb. 4. Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: President, Mr. R. W. Butterfield; First Vice-President, Mr. Lewis G. Stewart; Second Vice-President, Mrs. James H. Campbell; Treasurer, Mr. A. M. Goodwin; Secretary, Mr. S. H. Ranck. For some time Mr. Ranck has been in France in war library work. This meeting was mainly occupied with reports on collecting the records of the soldiers and sailors from Grand Rapids in the Great War. Mrs. S. W. McKee, Mrs. G. M. Hubbard, and Miss Annie Pollard were appointed a committee to confer with State authorities engaged in collecting the records for the State. In April Mrs. W. M. Stebbins of Hastings, State Director of Collecting Soldiers' and Sailors' Records met with the Society and explained the work that is being done in other parts of the State. Secretary Ranck and Miss Annie A. Pollard have been appointed by the Governor directors for Kent County in this work.

The "Historical Room" in the Grand Rapids Public Library is a most interesting nook for lovers of Michigan history, being well equipped with atlases, old newspapers, photographs, souvenirs, histories and reference books useful to students and citizens desiring historical information. A "Michigan Room" would be profitable and bring returns to any library, and it

would give proper emphasis to Michigan's right to attention in any Michigan library.

Mrs. Lillian D. Avery of Pontiac, secretary, writes that the forty-fifth annual banquet and meeting of the Oakland County Pioneer and Historical Society held February 22, 1919, at the Central M. E. Church in Pontiac, was as successful as any of its predecessors in presenting a program full of historical interest. With Judge Joseph S. Stockwell presiding and Mr. James Lynch acting as toastmaster, the audience was treated to much spicy comment that enlivened the occasion, as did also the old-time fiddling of Mr. Mortimer Leggett, the singing by the high school quartette and recitations by Miss Barbara Miller.

"The Pontiac Company," a paper by the Hon. Aaron Perry, recalled the fact that it was a hundred years ago that the first settlement was made in this city under the direction of this organization. A few weeks later a settlement was made at Birmingham, although it was not known by this name until many years later. Mr. W. D. Clizbee told the story of "Piety Hill" as it was then called, and gave a very fine tribute to the pioneers of that section.

The Hon. Peter Voorhies gave a history of Independence Township and some of its early settlers, all the incidents and persons mentioned being well known to the speaker.

"A Modern Pioneer Picnic," a story written by J. Allen Bigelow, was read by Judge Stockwell.

The secretary gave a report of the work that had been done by the historical committee of the Woman's Literary Club in collecting and tabulating data showing the work Oakland County had done during the war.

Mrs. Joseph Newbegging had kept a record of the work of the Red Cross; Mrs. Herman Seagrave, the Draft Board; Mrs. Geo. W. Smith, Patriotic Activities; Mrs. A. F. Newberry, Woman's Work; Mrs. Chas. Going, Food and Fuel; Miss Elizabeth Efferts, Education; and Mrs. Avery, the personnel of the soldiers, and the usual historical material.

The books containing this information were on exhibition and the society acknowledged by a vote of thanks the work done by this committee.

The following officers were elected: President, Ralzemond A. Parker; First Vice-President, Richard H. Rose; Second Vice-President, George Borndige; Third Vice-President, Mrs. A. L. Craft; Secretary, Mrs. Lillian D. Avery; Treasurer, Chas. H. Going; Trustees, John Powers, James Hoyt, A. G. Griggs.

A pioneer meeting was held in the town hall at Mears, Oceana County, Aug. 20, 1919, of which only a meager account has been received. Mrs. Carrie E. Mears of Pentwater, who has collected a number of pioneer papers bearing on the history of her vicinity, urges all interested in the history of Oceana County to send her any information or clippings pertaining to the history of the county. It is proposed to gather material for a history of Oceana County, and the pioneer society will probably be reorganized in the near future upon an historical basis to achieve this purpose.

The old settlers of Jamestown Township, Ottawa County, enjoyed their seventeenth annual picnic in August. The opening speaker was Rev. G. Van DeLinden of Forest Grove, whose excellent address held the closest attention. All took an active part in

the dinner which followed; one old settler was heard to remark that the crowd was much larger after dinner, though no new faces were to be seen. The speaker of the day was Hon. Gerritt J. Diekema of Holland, who commented upon the enterprise of the settlers in making this annual gathering an important factor in the life of the community rather than just an ordinary picnic. The Association owns the ground, nine acres of beautiful woods, which are well kept and have abundant springs of pure cold water. The grounds are easily reached by rail and automobile, and make one of the finest picnic sites in Michigan. The officers of the Association are: President, Newton L. Chamberlain; Vice-President, Cornelius Struik; Secretary, Henry Van Noord; Treasurer, Nicholas De Kline.

The Shiawassee County Pioneer and Historical Society held its annual meeting at the court house in Corunna, Feb. 22, 1919. Hon. John Y. Martin gave a report as Historian of the society. A history of Corunna Schools was given by Drege Watson. Dr. and Mrs. A. G. Cowles of Durand furnished old-time music. Mrs. Ferrey of Lansing gave a demonstration of old-time wearing apparel showing development along various lines. The program of a score of numbers was greatly enjoyed by a large and appreciative audience.

The forty-fifth annual meeting of the St. Joseph County Pioneer and Historical Society was held June 11 in the court house park at Centreville. The following officers were elected: President, Mrs. C. C. Bateman; Vice-President, Mr. Alexander Sharp; Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. William T. Langley. Assistant

vice-presidents were appointed for the several townships. The Weissert bills, empowering boards of supervisors to appropriate a sum not to exceed $200 in any one year for marking historic sites and a similar sum for general historical purposes were explained and steps were taken to secure a portion of these amounts from the St. Joseph County board. An enjoyable noon hour was spent in a picnic dinner abounding in old-time sociability. In the afternoon Hon. Judge Farrow gave an earnest and thoughtful address of welcome which was responded to by the well-known pioneer poet, James Yauney. Mr. George R. Fox, the very able director of the Edward K. Warren Foundation at Three Oaks described in the July number of the *Magazine*, gave an intensely interesting address on the collection, arrangement and care of objects in an historical museum. Miss Florence Fuller, daughter of Secretary Fuller of the State Historical Commission, recited in an appealing manner Will Carleton's "The First Settler's Story." Secretary William T. Langley displayed the original cyclebar invented by Mr. John M. Leland, on which he gave an interesting talk, urging that more attention be given to gathering historic relics for the county pioneer museum displayed in the court house. Secretary Fuller of the Michigan Historical Commission gave an address on the work of that Commission, its importance for the present as well as for the future of the State, and explained its relations to the county associations. Good music was furnished by the Centreville Glee Club and the Centreville Band.

"Thirty ladies, members of the Algonquin Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, motored to Paw Paw Sept. 13 and placed a bronze marker over the

grave of William Dyckman, a soldier of the Revolution. The dedication of the tablet was attended by appropriate ceremonies in which several Paw Paw residents took part. Atty. David Anderson, Atty. Glenn E. Warner and Father Toole were among the speakers."—Decatur *Republican.*

Secretary I. P. Bates writes that the forty-ninth annual meeting of the Van Buren County Pioneer Association was held at Covert, June 19, 1919. All new officers were elected except the clerk, who being the *boy* of the crowd, only eighty-four, was retained: President, G. S. Rich; Vice-President, G. C. Monroe; Treasurer, J. W. Pierce; Secretary, I. P. Bates. The 50th Anniversary will be held at Lawrence where the Association was organized. A committee was appointed to take up the matter of markers with the board of supervisors and it is hoped one will be ready to dedicate at Lawrence next year. The secretary is preserving sketches of all the townships and all other historical data he can get.

The *Daily Times-News* of Ann Arbor prints the following.:

"The annual meeting of the Washtenaw County Pioneer and Historical Society was held in the court house Wednesday, June 11, at 10 a. m. A goodly number of the pioneers were on hand and it seemed as usual like a social family reunion. The meeting was called to order by Pres. Byron F. Finney. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Rowe. The secretary gave an extensive outline of the last meeting and the report was accepted and adopted. The necrologist, Mrs. B. D. Kelly reported 143 deaths of pioneers during

the year. Miss English of Manchester and others spoke of the death of Librarian Davis and mention was also made of D. Minzey, aged 96 years, and also an aged mother of 97 years. Several pioneers made remarks regarding some of those who had died during the year. E. Moore stated that it was 60 years ago that he and Mrs. Moore had been united in marriage.

"A nominating committee was appointed as follows: W. H. Sweet, D. D. Kelly, G. H. Winslow and B. F. Gooding.

"Following this dinner was served in the Y. M. C. A. About seventy pioneers and their friends sat down at the tables. After a social hour the meeting was again called to order. The report of the nominating committee was given by W. H. Sweet as follows: The next meeting will be held the second Wednesday in June, 1920. President, George W. Winslow; Secretary, R. Robert Campbell; Treasurer, O. C. Burkhardt; Necrologist, Mr. B. D. Kelly; Vice-Presidents: Ann Arbor City, M. S. White; Ann Arbor township, C. S. Brown; Augusta, Mr. Hewens; Bridgewater, H. Palmer; Dexter, John O. Thompson; Freedom, Emil Zinke; Lima, E. B. Smith; Lodi, S. J. Cress; Lyndon, Alfred Clark; Manchester, A. D. English; Northfield, J. G. Pray; Pittsfield, Andrew Campbell; Sharon, C. C. Dorr; Saline, John Hull; Scio, Arthur Lyon; Salem, A. Shankland; Sylvan, John Walters; Superior, Ernest Trust; Webster, Howard Ball; York, J. Josenhans; Ypsilanti city, W. H. Sweet; Ypsilanti township, B. D. Kelly.

"A number of the members, among them, President Finney, J. E. Beal and A. D. English spoke regarding the relics of the association, and their disposition. Some of these are quite valuable but after discussion

it was moved to take no further action at this time regarding them.

"Prof. Bonisteel made some interesting and appropriate remarks, Col. A. C. Pack gave an outline of the soldier recruits, Mrs. W. H. Wait and others spoke of the hero dead and mentioned several of those who had died during the late war. Mrs. W. B. Hatch, Mrs. W. G. Doty and some others spoke of the Revolutionary War, the Civil War and other conflicts, and the sympathetic work of the different religious organizations.

"H. L. Westerman gave a splendid outline of the work done in Washtenaw County and read a poem in connection with his talk. Mrs. M. L. Norch of Washtenaw County chapter and Mrs. Henry M. Bates spoke of the French orphans and the pitiful condition of the people. J. E. Beal gave a number of interesting incidents regarding the University of Michigan. Rev. Edgar Brown read several appropriate poems. Mr. White gave quite a complete list of the early settlers and also read a poem composed by William Lambie and delivered in the early days of the society, of which he was a devoted member.

"Closing remarks were nade by Andrew Campbell, B. A. Finney the secretary and others.

"The meeting was then adjourned."

THE Michigan Library Association held its twenty-ninth annual meeting at Hotel Macatawa, Macatawa Park, Sept. 4, 5 and 6, 1919. The opening address, given by Hon. Gerritt J. Diekema of Holland, on "The Hollanders in Michigan," was a splendid tribute to this sturdy, intellectual, God-fearing people,

and a happy introduction to the meeting held in their midst. President Stohm's address which followed was filled with fine idealism, being directed mainly to showing how the public library can be of highest service in the process of reconstruction we are experiencing. Mr. Azariah S. Root, Librarian of Oberlin College, discussed in an able manner the subject of library standards. Secretary George N. Fuller of the State Historical Commission talked on the ideals and work of the Commission and their relation to the libraries of the State; and Mrs. W. M. Stebbins of Hastings, State Director to Compile Record of Michigan Soldiers and Sailors in the Great War, spoke of the work being done under her supervision. The principal speaker of the meeting was Mr. James Schermerhorn, editor of the Detroit *Times*, whose subject was "The Soul of the City." His optimistic outlook based upon the contributions made by typical American cities to the higher and finer things of urban life was cheering. During the course of the program several round-table discussions served as clearing counters for live library facts and opinions among the delegates, and the social features of the meeting were very pleasant, among which those in attendance will most happily remember the evening on the beach. It was a most enjoyable and profitable meeting.

ON AUGUST 22, 1919, was dedicated the monument erected by the State of Michigan to the memory of General William R. Shafter at Galesburg, Kalamazoo County, near where he was born. A home-coming and veteran's reunion were combined with the event and

brought out a large attendance. A complete report is being prepared by the committees in charge which will be published in a near number of the Magazine.

ON SEPTEMBER 19, Saginaw and the State of Michigan fittingly commemorated the centennial of the signing of the Saginaw Indian treaty of 1819 by a mammoth celebration in the city of Saginaw. The State committee appointed by the Governor consisted of Mr. Walter J. Hunsaker of Saginaw, Mr. Frank W. Blair of Detroit, Mr. Henry Ledyard of Detroit, Mrs. Irene Pomeroy Shields of Bay City and Mr. Lewis Cass Slade of Saginaw. The committee attributes much of the splendid success of the meeting to the work of the local committees, a complete report of which will be made later. In this number is printed in full the principal address of the occasion, by Mr. Henry A. Naegely of Saginaw.

THE DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY'S BULLETIN *Library Service* contains as a supplement to the issue of Sept. 15, 1919, interesting letters and papers relating to the negotiation of the Indian treaty of Saginaw in September, 1819, from the *Burton Historical Collections*. Among them is a letter of Lewis Cass, dated at Detroit, Jan. 6, 1819, urging the purchase of lands in the region of Saginaw Bay, and a contemporary press account of the treaty taken from the Detroit *Gazette* of Oct. 1, 1819.

OLDER READERS are doubtless familiar with the *Legends of Michigan and the Old North West* published by the Northwestern Bible and Publishing Co. of Allegan, Michigan, in 1875.

The author, F. J. Littlejohn, had been at that time a resident of Allegan for some forty years and was one of the earliest settlers of western Michigan. As a surveyor and geologist his widely extended explorations in early Michigan made him well acquainted with its topography, scenery, and products, and with the Indians, whom he met in both peninsulas scattered in tribal bands over their hunting grounds and in their forest homes. He was by nature fond of ethnological studies, particularly in aboriginal life, and these legends and stories set forth the mental gifts, superstitions, modes of living and general habits of the Indians with the accuracy of personal knowlege. They abound with scenes of border life and Indian warfare and in their day had something of the novelty of Cooper's *Leather Stocking Tales* and contemporary stories of the forest and the frontier.

In literary style they are somewhat juvenile, and indeed were not written originally for publication, but, as the author confesses, for his amusement in hours of leisure and relaxation. Their charm consists largely in his love of these "unpublished waifs, gleaned along the uncertain misty line, dividing traditional from historic times." To some they will seem to contain a good deal of the oversentimental. Unquestionably much of the narrative is strongly tinctured with the author's imagination. On the whole, however, the pictures of Indian life, manners and customs are true enough.

Not all of these "waifs" have been published. Several have been acquired recently by the Historical Commission as a loan, one of which is presented in this issue of the Magazine, secured from Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Butler, of Allegan. Mr. Butler's mother was a sister of the author. This story, "Red Cloud and Dew Drop," is fairly typical of the earlier ones, and is closely related to two which appear in the collection of 1875, "Ou-wan-a-ma-che and Mo-kish-e-no-qua; or, The Native Saginaw Maidens of 1804," and "Se-go-quen, the Native Deaf Mute; or, The Last Raid of the Saginaw Renegades." The subtitle of the present story is, "The Child Captives of Saginaw," a legend of the Saginaws in 1810. One of the chiefs in the story has left his name with the thriving population center of Chesaning in Saginaw County.

If this story is well received by our readers it is probable others of the series will be published in the Magazine.

THE STUDENTS' PRIZE ESSAY CONTEST sponsored by the Department of Public Instruction, the Michigan Federation of Women's Clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution in Michigan, and the Michigan Historical Commission, on the subject "What our school (or county) has done to help win the war," has been decided in favor of the following contestants:

First prize for students over 14 years of age, Donald Ross, Ypsilanti; second prize, Helen Post, Burnips.

First prize for students under 15 years of age, Alma Gilbert, Saginaw; second prize, John Russell, Manistee.

These essays will be published by the Historical Commission in the form of a Bulletin and distributed

to schools and libraries. Individuals desiring copies may secure them by addressing the Commission at Lansing.

WINNERS IN THE PRIZE ESSAY CONTEST conducted in 1918–19 by the Michigan Historical Commission on the subject, "The essential conditions of permanent world peace," are as follows:

Miss Ethelyn Abbot, 262 State Street, S.E., Grand Rapids, grade teacher in Coit School.

Arthur W. Dow, 1001 E. Huron Street, Ann Arbor, student in the University of Michigan.

Harry Hartman, 1169 Gratiot Ave., Detroit, student in the Detroit Junior College.

Miss Lorraine Bennett, 110 Oswego Street, Albion, student in Albion College.

Following is the committee on prizes: President Harry B. Hutchins, University of Michigan; President Frank S. Kedzie, Michigan Agricultural College; President Fred W. McNair, Michigan College of Mines; President Charles McKenny, Michigan State Normal College; Hon. Fred L. Keeler (succeeded by Hon. Thomas E. Johnson), Supt. of Public Instruction; Rt. Rev. Monsignor F. A. O'Brien, Dean of Nazareth Academy; and Hon. Clarence M. Burton, Michigan Historical Commission.

"WAR RECORDS OF MICHIGAN" is the title of Bulletin No. 10 published by the Michigan Historical Commission jointly with the Michigan Preparedness Board. Its 30 pages set forth the need of an accu-

rate complete and permanent account of the activities of Michigan in the war, the importance of immediate help by all citizens to secure the original records of war work in their respective counties, and gives a list of the records that are most worthy of permanent preservation. Many suggestions are derived from the work that is being done in other States. Methods of organizing the work in the counties are sketched in detail and an extended model outline is given for writing county histories of the war. The Bulletin has been widely distributed to schools and libraries and to workers in civilian war service organizations in the counties. Copies may still be had from the office of the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing.

The Adrian Daily Telegram of Aug. 26, 1919, contains "The story of Lenawee County's war work in the Patriotic League during the history making years of 1917 and 1918 and up to the present time," covering over two complete pages of that issue. The Magazine would be pleased to receive all articles of this kind and of historical nature along other lines published in Michigan newspapers. Its columns are the natural clearing house for the historical and patriotic news of the State and earnest effort is being made to increase this service. We desire to enlarge its exchange list as a means to this end. Editors who are not at present exchanging with the Magazine are earnestly invited to do so for the common good. A list of our exchanges will be published in a near number of the Magazine.

MR. H. L. SENSEMANN, director of the Alumni Cataalogue Office of the University of Michigan and secretary of the Military Record Committee of the University, writes thus of the progress and expense of the work up to June 28, 1919:

"With the exception of some extra work in connection with mail that has been returned unclaimed, the circularizing of the Alumni body is practically complete. We have yet to circularize the students of the last two years.

"Our returns have been large, running well up to 6,000. But these returns are by no means complete, as mail is being received every day, and in many cases, parents have written that they are holding the circulars to be filled out by their sons when they have returned from France.

"The returned circulars have all been arranged alphabetically, and at the present time they are being put into typed card-index form.

"We have complete records of 174 deaths in service, and a record of the military service of more than 150 Faculty Members.

"The entire expense so far is under $2,200.00, leaving more than $300.00 for the work of typing and cataloguing the returns.

"Much material in connection with other activities of the University, such as The S.A.T.C. organization, Red Cross work, Training Detachments, and Naval Units has been collected.

"The wisdom of this second circularizing has been proved by the fact that we have been able to reach many Alumni who did not respond to the circular sent out a year ago.

"Incidentally, the circularizing has been of immense

value to this office, in that it has made hundreds of corrections in our mailing list and has discovered for us over 200 unreported deaths among the Alumni."

The members of this committee are Regents Frank B. Leland, William L. Clements, James O. Murfin, and Professors Fred N. Scott and Arthur L. Cross.

IN THE DEATH of Justice Russel Cowles Ostrander, Associate Justice and former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society loses one of its most honored members. Few men were more intelligently acquainted with the history of Michigan, his native State. Born in Ypsilanti in 1851 and graduated from the Law Department of the University of Michigan in the class of 1876, he was early and intimately associated with great educational centers. His life is the story of a poor boy rising by force of character and hard work from the humblest of positions to the highest judicial honor in his State. An appropriate biographical sketch of Justice Ostrander will appear in its proper place in the State Historical Commission's publications.

MODERATOR-TOPICS SAYS, "Now the war is won and the problems of peace press upon us, what stands out as the most important thing for the schools to do? Moderator-Topics believes that of first importance is the teaching of history, civics, and economics with increased emphasis."

Let us add, Michigan history, Michigan civics, and Michigan economics.

Teachers, try Mr. Pattengill's *Primer of Michigan History* along with the American history classes, and Prof. Chase's new volume, *The Government of Michigan* (Scribners).

The *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* are full of data for a study of Michigan's early economic conditions. A set of these 39 volumes, and two index volumes, will be furnished free to any school. Prof. Wood's *Geography of Michigan* (Western State Normal, Kalamazoo) supplies abundant data on present day economic development.

For valuable teaching suggestions see the *Michigan History Magazine* in your public library for Oct. 1917 (pp. 19–22); Jan. 1918, pp. 23–24, 27–30; April 1918, pp. 210–216.

"THE GOVERNMENT OF MICHIGAN," by Lew Allen Chase, M. A., head of the history department of the Northern State Normal School at Marquette, is the title of a neat little volume just published by Scribners.

Within 226 pages Mr. Chase has put the essentials of Michigan government for students in high schools. His fitness for the task is assured by university training and by practical teaching in the Houghton High School and at the Northern State Normal School summer sessions, where the material used was tried out in daily contact with the type of students for whom the book is primarily intended.

Respecting the place of the study of State government, Mr. Chase says in the preface:

"In teaching civics, it seems to be the custom to dwell chiefly on the government of the nation. We

need to comprehend, however, that such instruction is wholly onesided and inadequate. At least half the course should be devoted to State and local government, if the place these hold in our daily lives is recognized."

The problem of selecting topics to be treated is solved quite happily. The framework of government is properly subordinated. The author has shown government in action, so that in glancing the book through, even the casual reader will see officers doing things, rather than a picture of what they might do if they should get into action.

This dynamic principle has guided both selection and presentation of topics. Attention is given to real government at work, to social and economic problems, taxation, conservation and the interests which touch intimately the lives of the people. At some points these problems are shown in the light of their origin and history. The material is strictly up to date, covering the work of the Legislature of 1919 even before the Session Laws were in book form.

The style is easy. The several chapters read like a series of teacher's talks with students. Several pages are written to the teacher about best methods of using the book. Teachers are directed to various "helps" enabling them to answer questions which may arise in class in connection with each chapter. Proper use of newspapers in class work is discussed. Outside work is suggested, such as attending meetings of the Legislature, city council, board of supervisors, township meetings, public meetings of boards and commissions, visiting public buildings and institutions, having the class listen to talks by public officials on the work of their office, assigning special investigations to students,

which require them to visit personally the public offices and examine records, reports, franchises, etc.

Several appendices of useful material are added. Appendix I is specially interesting, as showing the multiform efforts at good city government in Michigan. The illustrations are well chosen, and there is a very good index.

The relation of Michigan's government to its history is very intimate and the teacher of Michigan history will welcome this little book as a large measure of help in explaining the growth and development of the State.

A NOTEWORTHY DOCUMENT submitted recently for the files of the Michigan Historical Commission is the "Report of the Woman's Citizenship Campaign Committee of the Woman's Club House Association, Lansing," bearing date of April 10, 1919. The document is accompanied with a typed sheet of remarks showing excellent work done:

"The campaign was enthustiastically met by the people in general and splendid cooperation was afforded by our loyal citizens in many and various ways, which is deeply appreciated by all connected with this Committee. Measures of real benefit to the commercial, social and political world have been carried. Two constitutional amendments of paramount importance were decided. Amendment to Section 10 of Article X, authorizing the State to issue bonds in the sum of fifty million dollars for good roads carried. The other, an amendment to Article XVI of the constitution by adding a new section and repealing Section 11 by authorizing the manufacture and sale of beer and light wine, known as the "Beer and Wine Amendment,"

was defeated. Propositions to issue City of Lansing Sewer Bonds in the sum of $45,000, Paving Bonds in the sum of $63,400, and bonds in the sum of $15,000 for the purpose of constructing two public comfort stations, and several amendments to the City Charter were carried. Consequent upon the chaos and rush of work connected with the campaign, some mistakes crept in, but inasmuch as our time was limited, and this our first venture in the political world, a satisfactory result obtains.

"Chairman, Ida M. Person.
Campaign Manager, Mrs. Ernest L. Sayers.
Asst. Campaign Mgr., Helen Rogers Smith.
Publicity Chairman, Mrs. Walter G. Rogers."

PAPERS

MICHIGAN AND THE GREAT WAR

By Hon. George L. Lusk

Lansing

UNDER the spell of new and unexpected exploits, in which our country performed conspicuously her alloted task, we have celebrated another Memorial Day,* the day that is not yet but must ere long become not a mere holiday, but in truth and fact a HOLY DAY; a day of deep meaning, of memories that are sad and memories that are glad; a day of flowers and tears; a day of graves almost forgotten, and of new graves far across the great waters over which for the first time the grasses grow, and poppies blow—over which for the first time we cry aloud,

> "Warm southern winds, blow gently there—
> Warm southern sun shine softly there—
> Green sod above, lie light, lie light,
> Good-night, brave hearts; good-night, good-night."

Upon that noble tribute to fallen heroes at Washington, the Peace Monument, stand out these words:

> "There is one debt the nation CANNOT pay,—the debt it owes to the saviors of the Republic."

Memorial Day henceforth must hold for us new treasures, as new events have added to the honor roll of the Republic, and glorified the cause for which they died.

Five years ago the world was at peace; war was unbelievable, unthinkable. Four years ago the storm

*Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society at Lansing, June 3, 1919.

broke; three years ago the German hordes heard the appeal of their War Lord: "Soldiers of the Empire, take Verdun and the war is won;" they also heard the answer of Petain: "Thou shalt not pass!" Two years ago the conscience of America was unleashed, and a year later the desperate enemy determined to achieve his objective before the power of America could be marshalled on the fields of France. His last great offensive encountered elements he had scouted with contempt,—the "Yankee Doodle Do Boys"—the boys who Yankee Doodle DID.

The war is over,—war, the like of which history doth not record,—war beyond the imaginative powers of a Sherman to describe; war the genius of a Dante could not adequately portray; war born in the cancerous womb of Prussian militarism, born to affright the world, and fix the natal morn of the Imperial German Empire of the whole earth.

The war is over,—over there. However it will be a long time before the weird unwelcome sound shall be forgotten and unremembered; the age cannot soon forget the awful experience, nor will it escape its lessons and its penalties.

Looking backward over the period of the Great War and giving full credit and honor to those nations who held back the German legions for four years, as Americans our minds become focused on the events of that fateful year 1918. Colonel Frederick Palmer says that the allied armies on the western front had been for four months as completely on the defensive as if they had been beseiged in a garrison; when the enemy had come within forty miles of Paris, discussion was common that the capitol was doomed, that further defense of the city was useless, and that the

Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. had trucks ready for "moving day."

Jan. 5, 1918, President Wilson gave to Germany and the world his fourteen points essential to peace, which Germany soon answered with the beginning of her last great drive, her surprise-gun killing worshipers in distant Paris. From the commencement of this last drive until midsummer the success of German arms was almost uninterrupted; victory followed victory, and the confidence of the Allies seemed at lowest ebb.

The month of July arrived, and for the first time was launched under Foch the Allied offensive all along the line, French, American, British, Italian, Belgian troops participating, and from that date may be recorded the beginning of the end of the present German Empire and Central Powers.

From that date the words Chateau-Thierry and Soissons, become as familiar to Americans as Lexington and Bunker Hill; they become a glorious epoch in the military history of the nation.

Of these events it has been written, "We did not dash the cup of victory from our enemies' lips,—we smashed the splinters in his face, then turned his face toward the fatherland."

From that historic date, which must ever challenge the pride of Americans, until the armistice was signed, fully sixty-five major engagements in which the YANKS of America participated, were ALL victories,—there were no defeats.

America was there,—Michigan was there.

I have sought all available statistics to show the conspicuous part the 32nd Division assumed in that great conflict. Here is the official record.

July 31, 1918, the 32nd Division attacked in Grimpettes Woods with success; the woods were taken, and troops advance to Cierges. German counter-attacks were brilliantly repulsed with the bayonet and an immense amount of material and equipment taken from the enemy.

August 3, acting with the 4th Division, the 32nd reached a line from Ville Savoye to a point north of St. Gilles.

August 4, the 32nd Division took Fismes. In an eight-day battle this Division forced the passage of the Ourcq, took prisoners from six enemy Divisions, met, routed and decimated a crack Division of the Prussian Guards, a Bavarian Division, and one other enemy Division, driving the enemy back 16 kilometers.

Aug. 21, the 32nd acting with the 10th French Army advanced to and held Juvigny.

During the five days prior to Sept. 3 the 32nd made daily advances against the enemy, gaining six kilometers through very difficult terrain, and against violent opposition. It captured eleven officers and 920 enlisted men, and a large amount of guns and ammunition.

Thus the record of major operations is set forth by the War Department, as the brilliant achievements of the sons of Michigan and Wisconsin in this splendid Division.

Let us note additional facts. The total number of American Combat Divisions in the American Army were 30; the total number of deaths was 48,909; of wounded 237,135,—a total casualty list of 286,044.

The first eight Divisions consisted of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, all regulars, the 26th or National Guard of New England; the 28th National Guard of Pennsyl-

vania; the 42nd or Rainbow Division (from 26 States) and the 32nd from Michigan and Wisconsin. These eight Divisions suffered a death loss of 24,622; wounded 117,470; a total of 142,092, or nearly one-half the entire casualties.

In this remarkable list the casualties credited to the 32nd number 2,898 deaths, or the fourth highest, with an aggregate number of 10,986 wounded,—in this respect the eighth highest, and likewise the eighth highest with regard to total casualties.

When we contemplate such a record of sacrifice, how appropriate the sentiment—

> "So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When duty whispers low, *thou must,*
> The youth replies, *I can.*"

But this is not the only answer Michigan gave to the nation's call. The total increment of armed forces in the United States on Oct. 31 last was 4,034,000. Michigan's allotment was 142,397. Of this number 67 per cent, or 96,480, were inducted into the National Army. There were 32,403 enlistments in the army, 11,463 enlistments in the Navy, and 2,051 entered the Marine Corps. In this record Michigan stood seventh highest, being exceeded only by New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas and Massachusetts. Our per cent of inductions and enlistments was scarcely equalled by any of these larger states. In addition, no record is available of the thousands of Michigan lads who entered the Canadian forces or joined in other States.

Then again we must not overlook the 85th Division, which embraced as did the 32nd many boys from our

sister State Wisconsin. This Division was born and developed at Camp Custer. It went overseas after many months of training August last. One of its units of Infantry, the 339th, was sent direct to Russia. The Division proper eventually was placed in the Toul sector, and doubtless would have seen active service, had not the war come to a sudden and unexpected termination.

Recently Colonel Harold Cloke, now assigned to duty at Fortress Monroe, came to Battle Creek to bring a message of appreciation from his fellow officers of the 85th Division for courtesies extended by Battle Creek and her people. He met with the Rotary Club at noon. Colonel Cloke told some new facts about the 85th in France. He said the morale of the men was beyond description. "They would stand in the mud and rain without a grumble and do the unromantic tasks assigned them with a spirit he had never seen before in a quarter-century's experience as a regular army officer. He told how the Yanks helped the morale of France not only by their conduct in the field and behind the lines, but by helping French women plow the fields, hoe potatoes and even plant the crops. Volunteer or drafted men, it made no difference, said Colonel Cloke, their spirit was amazing."

Did time warrant, there might be set forth many notable and heroic achievements pertaining to the record of certain units of the 32nd Division with which Michigan boys were factors in the Great War. Did time permit, the record of many officers and private soldiers and sailors who honored their native state might be cited, as they personally have been already cited for worthy and conspicuous gallantry. Michigan is proud of them. To those who made the

supreme sacrifice, we will cherish their heroism in our hearts; we will engrave their virtues on the tablets of memory. They have passed on to "fame's eternal camping ground, where silent tents are spread; where glory guards with solemn rounds the bivouac of the dead." They are gone to join compatriots who fell at Concord Bridge, and the martyrs of Valley Forge. They are gone to clasp hands with the heroic dead of Gettysburg, of San Juan Hill and Havana Harbor. The great commanders Foch, Pershing, Haig and Joffre with words sublime, have placed upon their brows the laurel wreaths of victory.

They died in the holiest cause, for the emancipation of mankind, "that the jewel of Liberty might be preserved in the framework of Freedom."

But they are NOT dead,—these SUPERMEN.

> They are not dead, these heroes whom we mourn,
> Tho' out of sight and hearing they are gone,—
> They live! removed from earthly care and ill,
> With stronger, holier power to bless us still.

Their names and deeds will live FOREVERMORE. War demands the most solemn justification. Somehow, in contemplating the horrors which the world has witnessed in the late war, we feel that the cryptic phrase of General Sherman seems weak indeed.

The great majority of soldiers in the Civil War were those 21 years of age or under. War is the wanton sacrifice of youth; the undefiled riches of all nations are the riches of youth; no conservation is more sacred or of greater value than the conservation of youth.

But now we must look to the future. Will the international aim of our country to enthrone justice prevail? Are the assurances of the future vague and bewildering in the world about us?

Will the land of Washington, Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson emerge from this tremendous experiment with a new national consciousness? Will we accept the doctrine of our lamented Roosevelt for an unadulterated American nationalism and soul-loyalty to our country? Will the nation be chastened, quickened, alert, determined that neither brute force nor unreasoning sway shall confound our ideals, destroy our prestige, or "mock the victory won".

The terms of peace are voluminous and exacting; having ample knowledge of Germany's culpability, they are not without mercy. It would appear that the United States of America is not haggling over them, nor clamoring for the spoils of war. The beauty and symmetry of OLD GLORY will not be marred by lust or greed in the settlement. Those who gave their all died proudly; and a war of aggression is not a war in which men are proud to die.

But above and beyond all present considerations, our anxiety prompts the question, Will the precepts of the League of Nations be vindicated and made secure? Let us cherish the belief that

> "No more shall the war clouds sever,
> Nor the winding rivers be red."

Let us hope for the enthronement of the world's reason, and with abiding faith in the God of Nations, look forward to the fulfillment of the Scriptural prophesy of Micah, when the mountain of the Lord's House shall be established on top of the mountains; when swords shall be broken into plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks; when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; when the reign of the blessed Immanuel,

the Prince of Peace, the great Captain of our salvation. shall become universal and eternal.

"For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day will win.
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin."

President Andrew Johnson at Albion

Personal Recollections by O. E. McCutcheon

Idaho Falls, Idaho

THE visit of President Johnson and his distinguished fellow travelers at Albion, Michigan, took place on September 5, 1866. The party had left Washington on August 28. The complete itinerary of the journey might perhaps be found in files of newspapers of the period, but no later writer has taken pains to preserve it. It is stated in a general way in the Diary of Gideon Welles, then Secretary of the Navy, and himself a member of the party. Mr. Welles' account was written September 17 after the return to Washington.[1]

The party had come via Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland and Detroit, calling briefly at many intermediate towns. In their further journeying they visited Chicago, St. Louis, and other points, and arrived in Washington, September 15. The names of the members of the party are given by Welles, but mention will be made here of only such as I remember.

The tour was made ostensibly to attend the ceremonies of the unveiling of a monument to Stephen A. Douglas in Chicago, September 6; but no attempt was made to disguise the fact that it was really an electioneering trip. A bitter contest was on between the President and the majority in Congress over questions of Reconstruction, and the President hoped that, by appealing directly to the people, he might favorably influence the coming congressional elections.

[1] *Welles*, II, 588-596.

The morning of September 5 was still and sunny and quite warm. A platform had been built adjoining the railroad track, the special train bearing the presidential party arrived at about half past ten or eleven, and the guests were at once conducted to the platform. Mr. Welles tells how the "Copperheads," that is, those "who opposed the Government during the war" paid "court" to the President and indicates their prominence in local movements to receive the party. That was what happened at Albion.

Hon. William V. Morrison, the most conspicuous Copperhead in that community, conspicuous alike for his intellectual superiority and his uncompromising opposition to the war, was chosen chairman for the occasion and briefly introduced the President. I cannot undertake to state what Mr. Morrison said, but, in general, it was that the President was there as the guardian of the Constitution and was appealing to the people for their support in his struggle to save that instrument from the radicals of Congress.

Very promptly and with a firm and elastic step Mr. Johnson came forward and after the enthusiastic applause had subsided, began his speech. His address was extemporaneous; in fact he said in his New York speech on the same tour that he had never in his life made a prepared speech.[2]

Mr. Welles says that the newspapers gave "generally introductions that were made, and caricatured statements of the speeches which were delivered, that the President made in every place "the same speech, sometimes slightly modified, which was soon burlesqued and published in anticipation of its delivery." Much had been published about the President's statement

[2]McPherson's *Manual* for 1866, p 134, sometimes cited as McPherson's *History of Reconstruction.*

that he had "Swung around the circle," and I listened with a degree of curiosity to hear if he really would say that. There was not long to listen. After a brief introductory statement, he said, "I have swung round the circle. I was Alderman of my native village; then Mayor of a city; Member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate in a State Legislature, Member of the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, then Governor of a State, United States Senator, Vice-president and President of the United States, and now," cried he, "after all that, what reason have I to dissemble? Why should anyone charge me with dissembling? Why should anyone suspect me of dissembling?" His argument was as if one should say: "As I have already *had* everything, there can be no reason for my being dishonest or uncandid. I should therefore be accepted as honest and disinterested." I clearly remember his use of the word "dissemble" or "dissembling" at least three times, each time at the end of a sentence and with a curious sort of shuffling of the voice, as if he were not quite sure the word was well chosen.

Mr. Welles tells us that in the early days of the tour he was quite apprehensive that the strength of the President would not prove equal to so much speaking, "but," he adds, "he best knew his own system and powers of endurance." Certainly at Albion he showed no signs of exhaustion or even of fatigue. He was a sturdy figure, erect, his head tipped slightly backwards, his long dark hair not overmuch grizzled, a broad Scotch face with the ruddiness of superb health, (albeit attributed by hostile opinion to another cause), emphasized by much exposure to the summer sun in the open air speaking of the tour. Having a full, round

voice, clear and resonant and with strong carrying quality, he was the typical stump speaker of the South and West. Mr. Seward declared him the best stump speaker in the country.

The time allowed for his stay was very limited and when the President had concluded his argument to the effect as above stated he referred briefly, but aggressively, to the pending contest between himself and Congress, and appealed to the people to stand by him in the struggle. Quite a crowd had assembled, which heard with respectful attention and hearty applause.

It seems to me that not all those named by Mr. Welles as members of the party came upon this platform. Besides the President, Mr. Seward, General Grant, Admiral Farragut and General Custer are clearly and distinctly in my recollection; a little less clearly, Mr. Welles, General Stoneman and General Crook. The others are unidentified personalities.

A railing ran along the sides and across the rear of the platform. Mr. Seward sat during the proceedings in the front row and over against the railing, at the President's right, hearers' left, his arm hanging over the rail, and some people availed themselves of the opportunity to shake his hand. He looked very slight and frail, the pallor of his cheek throwing into strong relief the scars of the assassin's knife; but his eyes beamed with intelligence, and his face was smiling and kindly. General Grant was next, and he and most of the others remained standing. The trim, well-knit figure of the great general, his features impassive, immobile,—not with the immobility of boredom or indifference, but the statuesque expression of reposeful strength, purpose, resolution,—powerfully impressed

my young mind, and remain a priceless recollection. Admiral Farragut stood next, short of stature, alert, dark, aquiline, with the eye of an eagle, he was the complete personification of interested attention. Nothing appeared to escape him, while the habitual twinkle of his eye broke frequently into a captivating smile which overspread and illuminated his countenance. Over at the other end of the front line and at the President's left stood General Custer; a jaunty figure, blonde, long fair hair, a cavalryman's cap, slender, dashing and graceful, he might have been a knight of Arthurian romance or a titled dandy at the Court of Louis XIV.

When the President had concluded, there was a movement upon the platform as of immediate departure for the train. The crowd called for Seward and Grant. Mr. Seward, who had risen, smilingly said, "Some call for Grant and some for Seward. Because you want both you shall have neither," and turning, he was one of the last to leave the platform. In the meantime the locomotive bell was ringing and the railway managers were scarcely concealing their impatience to be going; and, in less time than it takes to write it, the car door received the last visitor, and the historic train with its precious lading was moving westward.

That the tour of President Johnson passed into history as "swinging round the circle," cannot be doubted; but he did not, at least at Albion, refer to his journey in that or similar language, nor, as I am persuaded, anywhere else.

There is some confusion on this point.

Dr. Andrew D. White in Vol. I of his *Autobiography*, at page 129, says that the President "in one of his

earliest speeches alluded to the journey as 'swinging round the circle.' The phrase seemed to please him and was repeated from time to time," etc.

In *Through Five Administrations*, by W. H. Crook, the author says that the phrase "Swinging Round the Circle" referred to the fact that the President had in his sympathies swung around from the North to the South.

In Rhodes' *History of the United States*, Vol. 5, p. 617, the origin of the phrase is stated to have been some words of the President "in one of his previous harangues," and he cites McPherson's Diary, p. 58, where is found a report of "remarks" of the President to a Committee of the Virginia Legislature, on February 10, 1866.

In these remarks the President said: "Now, as we swing around the circle of the Union with a fixed and unalterable determination to stand by it," etc. This was a rhetorical circle upon which he was looking for enemies of the Union.

But really these "Remarks" did not attract much attention, and the expression in question, none at all, and was doubtless forgotten until referred to again by Mr. Rhodes.

It is true that on his tour the President, in his Cleveland speech, used about the same expression as that contained in his "remarks;" but at Cleveland the hostility of the crowd approached a riot, and Mr. Johnson fought them as he would a similar crowd in Tennessee; what he said about swinging round the circle did not refer to his tour, but to the circle mentioned on February 10.

It seems impossible to agree fully with either of these writers as to the popular adoption of the phrase which

was so widely used to designate the President's electioneering tour.

A correct statement of the facts is found in Phelan's Life of Johnson in *The Presidents of the United States*, where it is said that the President's tour was called "swinging round the circle," because in his speeches he declared that he had swung around the entire circle of offices from Alderman to President. The same statement is found in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. III, p. 439. But in both places, and also in Lamb's *Biographical Dictionary of the United States*, Vol. IV, p. 392, the singular error is made of putting the President's tour during the impeachment trial, which did not take place until 1868.

The statement of Rhodes, and the Cleveland speech had a tendency to show that the phrase was one commonly made use of by the President, who was given to metaphor and proves at least that he did not, as supposed by Dr. White, originate it on his tour.

Then on this point it should be noted that, while Mr. Welles says the President made the "same speech" in all the places visited, he must be read with the qualification that, where an extended address was undertaken, as was the case in New York and Cleveland, it was much longer than the brief and condensed speeches made during short stops at the many different towns visited.

The President was making an argument, as stated in the text above, and that was in fact his whole argument, that is, that he had already held all the offices and should now be considered candid and disinterested.

He is not credited with this argument, either by Rhodes or Phelan, but Rhodes leaves it as if the President had merely boasted in his New York speech of

having held all the offices in the country "from the position of the lowest alderman in your city to President of the United States.[3] This is scarcely fair. In his mind the argument was good, and it accorded with the prevailing political notions of the time.

It seems plain that we must look further for the cause of the extraordinary popular interest in and use of the phrase, "swinging round the circle," and why it became an element in the very general ridicule heaped upon the President and his tour.

Fortunately an adequate explanation is at hand in the genius of "Petroleum V. Nasby," the pen name of David Ross Locke of the Toledo *Blade*. The Nasby letters began in 1861 and reached their climax in public interest with their account of Mr. Johnson's tour.

In Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedia*,[4] 1888, the year of Mr. Locke's death, these letters are mentioned as "that inimitable series of patriotic satires which will ever remain an important feature of the literature of the Civil War." Further, "The influence of these letters for the National cause was incalculable. . . They were eagerly looked for and read by President Lincoln, and Mr. Boutwell said in a speech after the war that the crushing of the rebellion was due to three forces, "The army, the navy and the Nasby letters."[5]

The assumed character of Nasby was that of a "poor and ignorant democrat with a yearning for the postmastership and whiskey." He wrote in the illiterate style and professed to be a friend and adviser of

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[3]Rhodes, X, 618.
[4]p. 643.
[5]Cf. Ryan's Civil War Literature of Ohio, p. 240; *The Americana*, Vol. XII, Sketch of David Ross Locke; *New International Encyclopedia*, XIV, 275; *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, VI, 26; Rothschild, *Lincoln, Master of Men*, p. 478; Overholtzer, *Lincoln*, p. 331; in American Crisis Biographies, Hapgood, *Lincoln*, pp. 238–379; Carpenter, *Lincoln*, p. 157; Brown, *Every Day Life of Lincoln*, p. 467–548; Bancroft's *Seward*, II, 463; Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress*, p. 238.

President Johnson, and his letters describing the tour begin with the statement that he was summoned to Washington and appointed chaplain of the expedition, and he pretended in his letters to have accompanied the President. He was possessed of a great talent for ridicule, and two expressions of Mr. Johnson were seized upon and made most effective use of in the Nasby letters. These expressions were: "I have swung round the circle," and "I leave the Constitution in your hands."

We will follow Nasby briefly without adopting his orthography. Nothing is said about the speeches, until the party reached Schenectady, where he says, "The Sultan swung round the circle once here, and leaving the Constitution in their hands, the train moved off." At Lockport the President said he "had been Alderman, Member of the Legislature, Senator, Military Governor and President. He had swung round the entire circle." "He proceeded to say again that he had swung round the circle, and I told him he had swung round the circle once in this town and, useful as the phrase was, it might 'spile' by too much use." At Cleveland scarcely had he got to the point of swinging round the circle, when he was interrupted by the noisy crowd and forgot his speech, and struck out 'crazy'; but presently regained his equilibrium and "swung round the circle once, and leaving the Constitution in their hands retired." The Cleveland speech was up somewhere in the city. When they returned to the station, they found only the newly appointed postmaster, and the President "was going to swing round the circle for him and leave the Constitution in his hands, but Seward objected." In Detroit he swung round the circle. He was Alderman of his

native town, etc. At Ypsilanti he swung around the circle, etc., etc. Shortly afterwards the letters describing the tour, with some others, were published in a book entitled "Swingin' Round the Cirkle." According to Nasby, when the President "swung round the circle," he simply made that part of his speech, but finally, in the closing paragraph of the account, the phrase is applied to the whole tour.

Beyond question it was the Nasby letters that caught the humor of the circumstances and set everybody laughing, and, while this phrase became historic, Mr. Johnson himself was laughed out of court.

These remarks have led me somewhat afield, and I will not be going much further; but perhaps I can throw a side light on certain phases of the character and history of Andrew Johnson by relating, that it fell to me to visit the Exposition at Nashville, held in 1897 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of statehood in Tennessee. They had a "Mountaineer's Kitchen," furnished with flax wheel and loom, and other appliances of rude mountaineer life, presided over by a middle-aged lady of the mountaineer or "Poor White" class, whose fourteen-year-old daughter wove a linen towel for me while I waited. In the meantime the mother showed me many things on exhibition, among which was the original sign which had been upon the tailor shop of Andrew Johnson in his early life, a picture of which may be seen in Savage's *Life and Public Services of Andrew Johnson*.[6] She said to me with simple, but impressive gravity: "Andrew Johnson belonged to 'we uns' and he was President of the United States." I reminded her that the mountaineers were loyal to the Government during the war, and she replied, "Yes, 'we uns' was Yanks."

[6] Opposite p. 199.

Michigan Agriculture and the Food Supply During the War

By Mrs. Dora Stockman

Lecturer for the Michigan State Grange

Lansing

THE American food supply was one of the immediate causes of America's entering the War. During the preceding three years the food reserve of the Allies had been used. Russia had hardly enough to feed herself. Vast food supplies of Belgium and France had been taken and their territory overrun. Germany was in possession of large areas of French and Belgian farm lands which they were cultivating with Allied prisoners. Germany's submarines effectually cut off the supplies of food for the Allies from Australia and South America. The United States and Canada were about the only sources left to maintain the food supply of the Allies. If the German submarine could cut off this food supply, victory for Germany was but a few months distant at best; and when America declared war on that memorable April day, the German U-boat triumphantly patrolled American shores.

Indeed our Allies in their crisis did not expect that America could help soon very greatly with an army, but they hoped they could hold out if America could furnish food while they should do the fighting.

Food Volunteers

After our regular army and navy, the first call was for the food volunteers of America. President Wilson sent ten recruiting officers into every hamlet and com-

munity of America saying, "Food will win the war. America must grow food for her armies, her Allies and herself." His representative came to Michigan, and what happened in Michigan was duplicated in variation in every State in the Union.

MOBILIZING AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES IN MICHIGAN

The campaign for food was opened with a call by the War Board for a meeting of all the agricultural leaders in Michigan. Federal representatives of the Federal States Relations Department and from the Department of Agriculture were there. The Michigan Agricultural College sent its extension representatives from every county, and the three big farm organizations were represented each by its leader and members. "Increase the crop yield" was the big slogan. We said, "It cannot be done, but we'll do it." A program to furnish extra seed needed, make arrangements for credit, help in labor-saving machinery and man power was launched, and the Food Drive started. Like Paul Revere's ride, the press carried the message to every Middlesex village and farm.

The War Board furnished money to buy machinery needed and arranged with banks and individuals for credit for farmers. The Michigan Agricultural College, with the Federal States Relation Department put men in nearly every county in the State. The Grange, the Gleaners and the Farmers' Clubs reached the hundreds of thousands of farmers' organizations, indeed reached out to every farm community of our State.

FARM LABOR SHORTAGE

The June draft made a big inroad on the best help the farmer had, his own farm boys. To fill this gap there were various plans to aid the farmer. Labor bureaus were organized. Groups of men from the city went out to help the farmer. The Women's Council of National Defense and the Woman's Land Army organized groups of women and girls to help in specialized farm work. The Boys' Working Reserve especially during 1918 did fine work, many of the boys earning the patriotic service button.

BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS

Twenty-nine thousand war gardens were organized by the boys and girls' club leaders of the Michigan Agricultural College, and every back yard that was not doing its "bit" during the war was regarded as having a "slacker owner." Thirty thousand boys and girls of Michigan were enrolled in clubs growing gardens, pigs, sheep, poultry, calves, corn, potatoes, beans, etc., to the amount of nearly $300,000.

PATRIOTIC FARMERS CARRIED THE BIG LOAD

While we can hardly overestimate the service rendered by all these various agencies and the fine patriotic spirit that prompted it, yet the big load of producing the food supply was carried by the farmer folks themselves. A million acres extra of food crops, it is estimated, were planted in Michigan in the summers of 1917 and 1918. So loyally did the farmers respond to the food acreage call that the meadow and pasture lands were cut short of the animal needs. To harvest

this tremendous increase of cultivated crops, men, women and children on the farms worked from early sun-up to dark. To add to the extra labor, an excessive rainfall drowned out crops, necessitating extra plantings. The bean-harvesting labor was done over and over. I recall a typical instance of a family that turned their beans eight times after rains; the beans were nearly dry and the family expected to haul them the next day; in the night about 10 o'clock it started to sprinkle and they,—man, woman, and boy—got up and with lanterns hauled beans until the downpour stopped them. All through northern Michigan a late spring and early frosts killed many acres of beans and potatoes. Yet in spite of the most unfavorable weather conditions Michigan had ever known for corn, we came out with a big increased yield. And more than that, our slogan "It cannot be done—but we'll do it" had changed to "Food will win the war,—we can do it."

SAVE FOOD

In February of 1918 came the food crisis of the Allies. The Food Administrator of Great Britain cabled Herbert Hoover for fifty million bushels of wheat, and Mr. Hoover after a careful estimate replied, "We cannot spare more than twenty millions." Then it is reported, the Food Administrator of Great Britain bowed his head upon his desk and said, "If America cannot furnish the food we are lost." Then came the great drive to save food. "Food will win the war." And the day of substitutes came and woman's great opportunity was here. We saved bread by the slice, flour by the spoonful; we ate corn, potatoes, rye, what not. The Home Economics Department of the Michi-

gan Agricultural College and the national States Relations Department had twenty-one paid workers in the field. Four Michigan cities alone had paid demonstrators and 300 volunteers who led in the food drive. The Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense rendered fine service through more than thirty State organizations. They distributed recipes by the millions. The farm organizations reached every county, every community; every kitchen became a food-substitute laboratory. The Food Administration through its publications of fair prices, and coercion of those few whose appetites sometimes dimmed their patriotic vision supplemented the work of the women. But it must be written down to the everlasting credit of American womanhood that we not only saved the extra thirty million bushels of wheat needed by our Allies' but we spared another thirty million more. We saved, making an eighty million bushel contribution to the Allied food needs between March 1 and July 1, 1918.

I just want to add that personally for ten years I had been asking people in my food demonstrations to change some of their food habits for health's sake. They invariably would reply, "We would rather eat what we want and live less long." Then I prepared a series of charts, proving that if we would eat less meat and more vegetables, milk and cheese, it would reduce the cost of living. But the average man would say, "So long as I have the meat and wheat or the price to buy, I would rather eat what I like." Yet what the American people would not do for health or wealth they did for patriotism. Never in the history of ages has any people changed its food habits unless

compelled to by famine or war on its territory. America did so to save food to win the war.

WHEAT, MEAT AND SUGAR

It did not take any extensive publicity to press home the food needs in either city or country in 1918. The worst winter for wheat that America has ever known cut down the winter wheat prospects. Many farmers shorthanded were compelled to desert the farms, and many more were attracted by high wages in the war industries in the cities. Farming and wheat growing could not compete financially with wages in other lines on the prices fixed by the Government.

The President recognized this when he said to the farm leaders who asked for higher prices to stimulate production, that to raise the price of wheat would mean to have to readjust other wage levels. He said he believed the patriotic farmers of America would grow the wheat to win the war. And the patriotic American farmers not only grew the wheat, but the meat, and the sugar, over a billion bushels extra of food stuffs in 1918, with the worst year for winter wheat in our crop history; and Michigan farmers did their full share. The American farmers not only held the food line; they furnished the stuff for the best fed army the world has ever seen. We went over the top with food enough extra to feed the Allied armies and civilians and helped hasten the final victory. Like one vast army with its varied divisions, the people of Michigan, —men, women and children, city and country together,

—not for profit but for patriotism went "over the top" of the Food trench to win the war, with the slogan!

We have planted the flag in the furrow,
And called for volunteers,
And millions of loyal farmers
Are filling the ranks with cheers.
Men and women and children,
With plow and spade and hoe,
Are out to work in the food-line trench
To fight Democracy's foe.

Indian Wars and Warriors of Michigan

By Norman B. Wood
Author of *Lives of Famous Indian Chiefs, Etc.*
Elsie

IT is generally conceded by those who have made a special study of the American Indian that the four greatest names of that race are Pontiac, war chief of the Ottawas, organizer of the first great Indian confederation; Little Turtle, or Michikiniqua, war chief of the Miamis, and conqueror of Harmar and St. Clair; Tecumseh, the famous Shawnee war chief, organizer of the second great Indian confederation and general in the British army in the War of 1812; and Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces, the Indian Xenophon. Whether considered from the standpoint of eloquence, leadership, organization or generalship, each of these was indisputably great.

In the limited space at our disposal we can not discuss except in a casual manner, the various wars and numerous battles in which representatives from the tribes of what is now Michigan were in evidence. For this reason we can not record the brilliant career of Chief Joseph, nor that of Little Turtle whose victories and subsequent defeat were in northwestern Ohio, even though many of his warriors were from Michigan.

When the French surrendered to the English as a result of the fall of Quebec, and all Canada changed masters, the Indians beheld with bitter disappointment and sullen rage the fleur-de-lis hauled down and the banner of St. George put in its place at all the

forts of the Great Lakes and in the interior. The French were subdued but their Indian allies under the indomitable Pontiac had in the language of Paul Jones "just begun to fight." Pontiac is said to have led the Ottawas at Braddock's defeat while a young chief, at which time a number of horses were taken from the routed and panic-stricken English and Virginians and brought by the Indians to Canada and Michigan. These were the first horses used by the Indians.

The first time Pontiac stands forth distinctly on the page of history was in 1760, about a year after the victory of the English at Quebec. On September 12, 1760, the famous Major Robert Rogers was sent by Sir Jeffrey Amherst to ascend the Great Lakes with a detachment of two hundred rangers in fifteen whale boats to take possession in the name of his Britannic majesty, of Detroit, Michilimackinac and other western posts included in the late capitulation. On November 7 they reached the mouth of a small river. As they were weary of their long voyage they determined to rest a few days and were preparing their encampment when a party of Indian warriors and several chiefs entered the camp. They informed Rogers and his rangers they they were an embassy from Pontiac, "King and Lord of that country," and that their great sachem in person proposed to visit the English; also that he desired the major to remain where he was, "till such time as he could see him with his own eyes."

Pontiac soon made his appearance and wore, we are told, "an air of princely grandeur." His salutation was very frigid and formal. He at once sternly demanded of Rogers his business in his territory, and how he had dared to venture on it without his permission. Rogers very prudently answered that he had no designs

against the Indians, but on the contrary, wished to remove from their country a nation which had been an obstacle to mutual friendship and commerce between them and the English. He also made known to him his commission to this effect, and concluded by presenting the Chief with belts of wampum and other gifts.

Pontiac received them with the single observation, "I shall stand in the path you are walking till morning," and gave at the same time, a small string of wampum. "This," writes the major, "was as much as to say I must not march farther without his leave." Such undoubtedly was the safest construction, and the sequel shows that Pontiac considered it the most civil. Before departing for the night he inquired of Rogers whether he wanted anything which his country afforded; if so, his warriors would bring it for him. The reply was discreet as the offer was generous, that whatever provisions might be brought in should be well paid for.

Probably they were; at all events the English were supplied with several bags of parched corn, game and other necessaries. Pontiac himself, at the second meeting offered the pipe of peace, which he and Rogers smoked by turns. He declared that he thereby made peace with Rogers and his rangers; and that they should pass through his dominions, not only unmolested by his subjects, but protected by them from all other parties who might incline to be hostile.

There seems no reasonable doubt of the sincerity of Pontiac's profession of friendship toward the English at this time, and we can not forbear thinking how different might have been the record of the historian had the English authorities pursued a friendly and conciliatory policy toward the Indians in general and

this mighty chieftain in particular. What massacres and devastation might the country have been spared; but alas, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." Instead of a "work of love and reconciliation" toward the Indians, the exact opposite policy was pursued by the English. Flushed with their victory over the more formidable French, they bestowed only a passing thought on the despised savages and greatly underrated their warlike prowess.

Pontiac did not consider himself a conquered prince, and expected to be treated with the respect due to a king by all who came into his country. In short as he made known to Major Rogers, if the English treated him with neglect and contempt, "he should shut up the way and keep them out."

The English did treat him and his people with neglect and contempt. When the Indians visited the forts after the English took possession, instead of being treated with attention and politeness as formerly, they were received gruffly, subjected to indignities, and not infrequently helped out of the fort with the butt of a sentry's musket or a vigorous kick from an officer. These marks of contempt were unspeakably galling to their haughty spirits. The mighty Chief was justly indignant and determined to "shut up the way and keep them out."

"The plan of operation," says Thatcher "adopted by Pontiac evinces an extraordinary genius, as well as courage and energy of the highest order. This was a sudden and contemporaneous attack upon all the British ports on the lakes at St. Joseph, Green Bay, Michilimackinac, Detroit, Maumee, Sandusky, and the others. But it was necessary, first of all, to form a belligerent combination of the tribes and the more

extensive the better. To this end, towards the close of 1762, dark mysterious messengers from this Napoleon of the Indians each bearing a war belt of wampum, broad and long as the importance of the occasion demanded, threaded their ways through the forests from the farthest shores of Lake Superior to the distant delta of the Mississippi." "The bugle call of such a mighty leader as Pontiac," as Mason says, "roused the remotest tribes. Everywhere they joined the conspiracy, and sent lofty messages to Pontiac of the deeds they would perform."

Pontiac arranged to meet the chiefs of the allied tribes from far and near, in a grand council, which was held on the banks of the Ecorse, a little stream not far from Detroit, on April 27, 1763. Here he lashed them into fury by an eloquent recital of the wrongs suffered at the hands of their common enemy the English, and unfolded to them his plan for a simultaneous attack on all posts of the Great Lakes.

In this storm of war, the most thrilling and tragic scenes were enacted at Mackinaw (or Michilimackinac) and Detroit. The former was the scene of a bloody and savage triumph; the latter of a long and perilous siege in which the savage besiegers were under the personal command of the great Pontiac.

This is the only recorded instance of the protected siege of a fortified civilized garrison by an army of savages, and we will notice it briefly; but first we will describe the capture of Michilimackinac and slaughter of its garrison.

The name Michilimackinac in the Algonquin tongue signifies the Great Turtle, from a fancied resemblance. By reason of the location of the post on the south side of the Straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan,

Mackinaw was one of the most important positions on the frontier. It was the place of deposit and point of departure between the upper and lower countries. The fort proper consisted of an area of two acres, enclosed with tall cedar posts driven into the ground and sharpened at the top, and on one side so near the water's edge that a western wind drove the waves against the stockade. The place at the time contained thirty families within the palisades of the fort, and about as many more without, with a garrison of about 35 men and their officers.

The morning of June 4, the birthday of King George was warm and sultry. The plain in front of the fort was covered with Indians of the Ojibway (Chippewa) and Sac tribes. Early in the morning many Ojibways came to the fort, inviting the officers and soldiers to come out and see a grand game of ball, or baggattaway, which was to be played between their tribe and the Sacs, for a high wager. In consequence of this invitation the place was soon deserted of half its tenants, and the gates of the palisade were wide open. Groups of soldiers stood in the shade looking at the sport, most of them without their arms. Sober Indian chiefs stood as if watching the fortunes of the game. Large numbers of squaws also mingled with the crowd but gradually gathered in a group near the open gates. And strange to say, although the day was almost oppressively warm, they were wrapped to the throat in blankets.

Baggattaway has always been a favorite game with many Indian tribes. At either extremity of the open ground from half a mile to a mile apart stood two posts, which constituted the goals of the parties. Except that the ball was much smaller, and that a racket

similar to those used in lawn tennis served instead of the kick, the game was very similar to our well-known football. The ball was started from the middle of the ground, and the game was for each side to keep it from touching their own post and drive it against that of their opponents.

On this occasion hundreds of lithe and agile figures were leaping and bounding over each other, turning handsprings and somersaults, striking with the rackets, tripping each other up every way, any way, to get at the ball. At one moment the whole were crowded together, a dense throng of combatants all struggling for the ball; at the next they were scattered again and running over the ground like hounds in full chase. Each in his excitement yelled and shouted as loud as he could. Suddenly the ball rose high in the air, and descending in a wide curve fell near the gate of the fort. This was no chance stroke, but a part of a preconcerted strategem to insure the surprise and destruction of the garrison. The players instantly bounded toward the ball, a rushing tumultuous throng, but just as they neared the gates, the shouts of sport changed suddenly to the ferocious war-whoop. The squaws threw open their blankets, exposing the guns, hatchets, and knives, and the players instantly flung away their rackets and seized the weapons before the amazed English had time to think or act. The Indians at once fell upon the defenseless garrison and traders, killed fifteen on the spot, and captured the rest including the commander. Everthing that belonged to the English was destroyed or carried off, though none of the French families or their property were disturbed. It is said that these captives were afterwards ransomed at Montreal at a high price.

It is said that Pontiac, seeing the stratagem succeeded so well at Michilimackinac, determined to capture Detroit, where he commanded in person, in the same way. Indeed the strategem of both attacks emanated from him. On the afternoon of May 5 a Canadian woman, the wife of St. Aubin, one of the prominent settlers, crossed the river to the Ottawa village then on the Canadian side to buy some maple sugar and venison. She was surprised at finding several warriors engaged in filing off their gun barrels, so as to reduce them, stock and all, to the length of about a yard. Such a weapon could easily be hidden under a blanket.

That night the woman mentioned the circumstance to a neighbor, the village blacksmith. "Oh," said he, "that explains it." "Explains what?" "The reason so many Indians have lately wanted to borrow my files and saws."

If this circumstance reached the ears of Gladwin, the commander, he paid no attention. But in the hour of impending doom the love of an Indian maiden interposed to save the garrison from destruction. In the Potawatomi village near by, it is said, there lived an Ojibway girl who could boast a larger share of beauty than is common to the wigwam. She had attracted the eye of Gladwin who had taken great interest in her, and as she was very bright he had given her some instruction; while she, on her part, had become much attached to the handsome young officer. On the afternoon of May 6, Catharine, for so she was called, came to the fort and repaired to Gladwin's quarters, bringing with her a pair of elk-skin moccasins ornamented with beads and porcupine work which he had requested her to make. But this time the girl's

eyes no longer sparkled with pleasure and excitement. Her face was anxious and her look furtive. She said little and soon left the room. But the sentinel at the door saw her still lingering at the street corner, though the hour for closing the gates was nearly come. At length she attracted the attention of Gladwin himself. The Major saw at once that the girl knew something which she feared, yet longed, to tell. After much coaxing, the dusky sweetheart spoke. "Tomorrow," said she, "Pontiac will come to the fort with sixty of his chiefs and demand a council. Each will be armed with a gun cut short and hidden under his blanket. When all are assembled in the council house, after he has delivered his speech he will offer a peace belt of wampum, holding it in a reverse position. This will be the signal of attack. The chiefs will spring up and fire upon the officers, and the Indians in the street will fall upon the garrison. Every Englishman will be killed, but not the scalp of a single Frenchman will be touched."

Gladwin believed the maid and the words of warning spoken. He got ready for the treacherous chiefs, and Detroit was spared the same fate that befell Michilimackinac.

Do you know, we have often wondered why Detroit, now that she has become a great and wealthy city, does not build a monument, or at least place a tablet in honor of the memory of this brave Ojibway maiden who risked her own life even as Pocahontas is said to have done before her, to save the lives of the garrison at Detroit. Monuments have been built by the whites to more than thirty Indians including Sacajawea who was the woman guide to the Lewis and Clark expedition, but none of these Indians are

more worthy of such honors than Catharine, the Ojibway maiden who saved Detroit.

Pontiac and his confederated warriors now besieged Detroit, and matters continued until both besieged and besiegers were running short of food. Indians were ever wasteful and improvident. Like the Germans in the Great War, the Indians expected a short campaign would result in the total destruction of the English. And like the Germans also, they were woefully disappointed. The garrison was partly relieved by their French neighbors, and partly by food which was brought to them by boat from Niagara. When Pontiac had exhausted his scant supplies, he did what no other Indian ever did since or before, he actually organized a commissary department, and knowing the utter inability of any Indian to manage such a thing, he placed it in control of a friendly French Canadian who had had some experience. He did more than this, he issued promissory notes, and used them as a medium of exchange. Before this, some of the Indians had been stealing hogs and grain from the French Canadians on the Detroit River. He first forbade the commission of farther outrages, on penalty of condign punishment, and was obeyed. He next visited in turn the families of the Canadians and, inspecting the property belonging to them, assigned to each the share of provision that he was to furnish for the support of the Indians. The contributions thus levied were collected at the house of one Meloche, near Parent's Creek, whence they were issued to the Indians of the different tribes.

He now appointed one Zuilleriez and other Canadians to discharge under his eye the duties of distributing the provisions. Anxious to avoid offending the Canadians, yet unable to make compensation for the

provisions he had levied, Pontiac issued promissory notes drawn upon birch bark, the Indian paper, and signed with the figure of an otter, the totem to which he belonged. Under this was drawn the representation of the particular article for which the bill was valid, as a gun, a bag of corn, a hog, a deer, or a beef. These bills passed current among the Canadians and Indians of the period, and were faithfully redeemed after the war. As Goodrich says, "The Pontiac treasury notes we believe were never below par. Repudiation was unknown under the savage rule of Michigan and Canada. Let the barbarian chief enjoy the full applause due to his financial honor. His modern successors might find something in his example worthy of imitation."

One night at an early period of the siege, Pontiac entered the house of Baby, a Canadian friend of many years, and seating himself by the fire, looked for some time steadily at the embers. At length raising his head, he said he had heard that the English had offered the Canadian a bushel of silver money for his scalp. Baby declared that the story was false and assured him he would never betray him. Pontiac studied his features keenly for a moment and replied: "My brother has spoken the truth, and I will show him that I believe him." So saying, he wrapped his blanket around him, and lay like a warrior taking his rest, in peaceful slumber until morning.

On May 20 some faint specks appeared on the distant watery horizon. They grew larger, and the officer looked through a spy-glass and made out the banner of St. George floating at the masthead of the nearest boat of the long expected fleet. A salute of welcome was fired, and it was answered by a faint but

unmistakable war-whoop, showing that the flotilla was in the hands of the Indians. This is what happened. Lieutenant Cuyler had left Fort Niagara May 13 with 20 barges, 96 men and a plentiful supply of provisions and ammunition. Coasting along the northern shore of Lake Erie, they landed on the 28th at Point Pelee not far from the mouth of the Detroit River. The boats were drawn up on the beach and the party prepared to encamp, when they were attacked by a large number of Wyandotte warriors whom the ever watchful Pontiac had stationed at this very point, as it was a famous camping ground. Cuyler quickly formed his soldiers into a semicircle before the boats, just as the Indians opened fire. For an instant there was a hot blaze of musketry on both sides; then the Indians in a body rushed fiercely upon the center of the line which gave way in every part; the men, throwing down their guns, ran panic stricken to the boats and struggled with ill-directed efforts to shove them into the water. Five of the boats were set afloat and pushed off from the shore, crowded with terrified soldiers huddled together like sheep in the shambles. Never was rout more complete or soldiers more unnerved and demoralized.

Cuyler, seeing himself deserted by his men,—as he afterwards stated, waded up to his neck in the lake and climbed into one of the retreating boats. The Indians on their part, pushed two more boats afloat and went in pursuit of the fugitives, three boat loads of whom allowed themselves to be captured without resistance. Think of it, two boat loads of Indians captured three boat loads of English, who seemingly made no effort to escape the fate of horrible torture which awaited all but a few, who were enslaved.

The other two boats, in one of which was Cuyler himself, effected their escape and returned to Niagara. Between thirty and forty men, some of whom were wounded, were crowded into these two boats. These with the three rescued from the Indians at Detroit, were all of the 96 which survived the ill-fated expedition. But Detroit was destined to have one more baptism of blood during the Pontiac war. Some time after this, Captain Dalyell reached Detroit, having fought his way past the Indians with the loss of fifteen men. He landed with 22 barges, 280 men, with several small cannon and a fresh supply of provision and ammunition. With this expedition was Major Rogers, commander of the famous Roger's Rangers, and twenty of his men.

Captain Dalyell had a conference with Gladwin and requested permission to march out on the following night and attack the Indian camp. A reluctant consent was at last given and about 2 o'clock of the morning of July 31 the gates were silently opened and 250 men marched up the road along the river's shore. In the river, keeping abreast of the troops, two boats, each carrying a swivel gun, were rowed with muffled oars. As there was no moon shining, everything seemed favorable to strike a deadly blow at the camp of Pontiac. But, though they knew it not, that vigilant and crafty chieftain was apprised of this movement by his spies, and with several hundred warriors lay in ambush at the bridge across Parent's Creek a mile and a half from the fort. Here the Indians poured into the soldiers such a deadly fire as soon decimated their ranks and killed their commander. Indeed the surprise and confusion was so great that all would have been killed but for the coolness and bravery of

Rogers and his rangers who were accustomed to Indian warfare, and the fact that the retreat was aided by the use of the two cannon on the boats. As it was, so many were killed that Parent's Creek has since been known as Bloody Run.

But nothing succeeds like success, and nothing fails like failure. In 1764 Pontiac, hearing that Col. Rogers who had just gained a great victory over a large army of Indians at Bushy Run, was approaching by land to aid Detroit, and that at the same time Colonel Bradstreet was approaching by lake with a force of 3,000 men, he now saw his cause was hopeless, drew off his men and raised the siege. In *Historic Mackinac*, a large two-volume work written and published by Hon. Edwin O. Wood, he quotes an authority stating that there is no authentic picture of Pontiac in existence. This is a mistake. I have in my possession a copy of the only known portrait of Pontiac, the original of which hangs in the Historical Library at St. Louis, Mo. The librarian is my authority for the statement that this portrait was painted by a young French officer a short time before Pontiac's untimely death at Cahokia, on the Illinois side of the river near St. Louis and that his remains were buried in that city on the site of the Southern Hotel.

Next to Pontiac, perhaps Tecumseh was the most prominent chief who fought on Michigan soil. Near the commencement of the War of 1812, General Brock and Tecumseh with their combined forces took a position at Sandwich opposite Detroit. Here the commander-in-chief asked his ally what sort of a country he would have to pass through in order to get to Detroit. Tecumseh, taking a roll of elm bark and extending it on the ground, and securing it in

place by four stones, drew his scalping knife and with the point etched upon the bark a plan of the country, showing its hills, rivers, woods, morasses and roads. Pleased by this, the General drew off a splendid sash and presented it to Tecumseh.

At the time of the surrender of Detroit by General Hull, the British General Brock could not have controlled the Indians or kept them from a massacre of the prisoners and citizens but for the efficient aid of Tecumseh, who caused the Shawnees in his immediate command to cross over the river first and have a controlling influence over the other warriors.

The fight at Fort Meigs was one of the most disastrous to the Americans. Here Col. Dudley and a force of Kentuckians were sent to the opposite side of the river to seize a battery and spike the cannon. They gained possession of the battery but were overwhelmed by the enemy and all killed or captured.

The prisoners were taken to the headquarters of Gen. Proctor, who had succeeded Brock, where the Indians began to tomahawk them. Proctor made no attempt to restrain this action. More than twenty were murdered in this horrible manner when Tecumseh was heard in the rear shouting something in the Indian tongue. He leaped off his horse, and seeing two Indians in the act of killing a prisoner he knocked them both down with the flat of his tomahawk. sprang in between the Indians and the prisoners and quelled them, stopping the massacre. He then said to Proctor, "Why did you allow this?" "Sir," replied the British general, "your Indians cannot be restrained." "Begone!" thundered Tecumseh; "you are not fit to command! Go home and put on the petticoat of a squaw."

The following article from D. B. Cook, editor of a Niles paper is germain to the death of this noted chief. Writing to the editor of the *Century Magazine*, Mr. Cook said in substance:

The article in your magazine relative to the killing of Tecumseh by Richard M. Johnson, reminds me of an interview I had with Noonday, chief of the Ottawa tribe, in 1838. This chief was six feet tall, broad shouldered, well proportioned, with broad high cheek bones, piercing black eyes, and coarse black hair which hung down upon his shoulders, and he possessed wonderful muscular power. It has always been difficult to get a history of any Indian who fought on the side of the British, but with the help of his pastor, Rev. Mr. Slater, who understood the Indian language, I succeeded in a measure.

After rehearsing the speech which Tecumseh made to his warriors at the engagement, and how they felt they were fighting to defend their honored chief more than for the British, he was asked: "Were you near Tecumseh when he fell?"

"Yes," directly on his right.

"Who killed him?"

"Richard M. Johnson."

"Give us the circumstances."

"He was on a horse, and the horse fell over a log, and Tecumseh with uplifted tomahawk was about to dispatch him when he drew a pistol from his holster and shot him in the breast and he fell dead on his face. I seized him at once, and with the assistance of Saginabear carried him from the field. When he fell, the Indians stopped fighting and the battle ended. We laid him down on a blanket in a wigwam, and we all wept, we loved him so much. I took his hat and tomahawk."

"Where are they now?"

"I have his tomahawk and Saginaw his hat."

"Could I get them?"

"No. Indian keep them."

"How did you know it was Johnson who killed him?"

"General Cass took me to see the Great Father, Van Buren, at Washington. I went to the great wigwam, and when I went I saw the same man I see in battle, the same man I see kill Tecumseh. I had never seen him since but I knew it was him. I look him in the face and said, "'Kene-Kin-a-poo Tecumseh,'; that is, 'You killed Tecumseh.'" He replied that he never knew who it was, but that a powerful Indian approached him and he shot him with his pistol. "That was Tecumseh. I see you do it."

Noonday finished his story of Tecumseh by telling of the chief's noble traits, the tears meanwhile trickling down his cheeks. There is no doubt of the truth of this unvarnished tale.

Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs and the Great War

By Florence I. Bulson

Chairman State Federation

Jackson

TAKING a cursory glance back over the war period, it seems impossible adequately to tell the story of the Michigan Federation and its part in the various phases of war service. I have not words at my command to express the devotion to duty, the patriotism and the splendid enthusiasm which led our women to reach out into every kind of work in support of the Government's tremendous plan for carrying the war to a successful conclusion. The Federation has during the twenty-five years of its existence stood ready to cooperate in every policy for the public good, and our watch-word during that period has been SERVICE, spelled with capital letters. Although the Federation has been called an Invincible Army, because of its activities in fighting disease and wrong-doing and as a molder of public opinion and an educator, it was found upon our entrance into the war that the Federation needed only to intensify its interests and activities in order to provide the necessary avenues for every phase of war work.

Every department of the work and every standing committee had its war relation, and the organization was immediately placed upon a war basis; the decks were cleared for action and the colors flung to the breeze in true fighting trim. The 30,000 women composing the Federation have stood by their guns faithfully and loyally; and now that peace is assured, our reward

will come in a more unified, more earnest, more altruistic, and active organization.

Permit me to quote from an esteemed colleague from a sister State who says:

"While there has, at times existed a most confusing duplication of effort through a multiplicity of outside organization, the Federation has endeavored through all of its committees, by united consent, to maintain a steady procedure.

"So many lines of work assumed by other organizations were identical with those clearly operating through the Federation committees for the past two decades, that the Federation naturally claimed the right of way, but being too broad in its aims and its patriotism to obstruct any righteous undertaking, the Federation side-stepped into line and marched and counter-marched, shoulder to shoulder, according to orders."

United action has been apparent all along the line and the amount of war work that has been done by the club women of Michigan is but little short of marvelous. Our women have performed their full share in all the patriotic drives that have been made, and are conspicuous for their leadership in those drives. Our organization helped to organize The Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, for Michigan,—the first to be organized in any State,—and furnished its peerless chairman, Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, a former head of the department of Home Economics in the Federation. It contributed its past president, Delphine Dodge Ashbaugh, who served as Director of Red Cross for Michigan, and as State chairman of the Women's Liberty Loan Committee. Your speaker, who was the Federation's war president,

served as a member of the Dollar-a-Month Club, appointed by Governor Sleeper, for the Relief of Belgian Children, until the action of Congress in making loans to the Belgian Government made it unnecessary for the continuation of this committee; served as vice-chairman of the Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense for Michigan and also as a member of the Woman's War Preparedness Committee of that body, with six others, appointed by the Governor, to serve during the war; in an advisory capacity upon the War Library Council for Michigan, also upon the Michigan Women's Liberty Loan Committee and upon the State Reconstruction Committee appointed by the Governor.

Upon our entrance into the war a request came from the president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles, for "enough food pledge cards, printed at once, at State Federation's expense, not only for the club women themselves, but for every woman in the State, signatures secured and pledges returned." But while the condition of our exchequer would preclude such wide use of funds, our wish to cooperate to the best of our ability dominated, and 30,000 cards, enough for our membership were ordered, perhaps serving as an inspiration for the Hoover card which came later. At the request of the United States Food Administration at Washington, and in cooperation with the food administrator of our State, the widest possible assistance from our women has been sought and many communities visited in the interests of food production, marketing and conservation and in other important matters. Hon. Gifford Pinchot wanted the help of the Federation in conservation matters; this was freely and promptly

given and words of genuine assurance and gratitude were forthcoming from Mr. Pinchot for our willing and earnest cooperation. When the questions of moral sanitation for our army camps and national prohibition were being considered, requests came pouring in from various State Federations and other agencies urging night letters and telegrams to President Wilson and our Congressmen urging the passage of these measures in the name of our great organization, and to any and all such requests cheerful compliance was given by the State body.

Our esteemed, newly-elected president, Mrs. Burritt Hamilton of Battle Creek, was made state chairman of the War Victory Commission, or fund for Furlough Houses in France. This was the special war service the General Federation of Women's Clubs espoused, the object being to raise a fund for military recreational houses, dispensaries and other war relief work in France. The fund was pledged at two million dollars, divided pro-rata among the States, and Delphine Dodge Ashbaugh was made national chairman. At the annual meeting of the Michigan Federation held at Battle Creek in February of this year, Mrs. Hamilton reported that the club women of Michigan had raised the sum of $7,307.33, which amount was turned over intact to the treasurer of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, this being the largest amount raised by any State of the seven constituting the group to which Michigan belonged.

Two splendid young women were contributed from our State to work under the Y. M. C. A. overseas in connection with this Commission. The requirements were rigid but our candidates passed all tests with high honors, and Miss Doris Mauck of Hillsdale and

Miss Barbara Bailey of Muskegon are Michigan club-women's representatives in this work across the water.

From questionnaires sent out to the clubs it has been shown that in almost every case the clubs were almost 100 per cent Red Cross members and workers, and large sums were raised for that purpose; that large numbers of club women had worked upon surgical dressings and hospital garments and had knitted thousands of articles, besides contributing money for Home and Allied Relief as well as for War Libraries, War Camp Recreational work, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., K. of C., Jewish Relief and other organizations doing war relief work. Not only have large sums been gathered and investments made in Liberty Bonds, War Saving Stamps, et cetera, but in a large percentage of cases over the State our women were the organizers of the Red Cross and officers of the same, working both as individuals and as clubs, devoting their time almost exclusively to this service. Club houses were turned over for this service, entertainments given and money raised to send good cheer to the boys in camp. Jelly showers were frequent, pillows and pillow cases, towels, property bags and housewives, books and magazines, musical instruments and thousands of victrola records were gathered and sent to Camp Custer and other camps.

What the 300 club women of Battle Creek alone have done for the boys at Camp Custer would fill a good-sized book and would be interesting reading, including as it does, mending for the boys, furnishing goodies and giving entertainments, aiding the civilian population in giving comfort and assistance along the various lines of endeavor and in helping to protect the men from vicious influences, as well as conducting a

campaign among the young girls and women of Battle Creek for their enlightenment, their education and protection. Notable among entertainments given for the soldier boys was one beautiful party given to 300 sons of Michigan and Wisconsin club women, an equal number of the charming daughters of Battle Creek having been invited with chaperones; the participants in this charming event were gathered up in automobiles and taken to and from the party by citizens. Hundreds upon hundreds of soldier boys have been invited into the homes of Battle Creek club women for Sunday dinners and other occasions, and it has been no uncommon thing for a mother to turn over to some mother of a soldier boy in camp her home for the preparation of a Sunday dinner and a last farwell visit with her son, and perhaps with other mothers' sons, before the long journey was entered upon which should take them to foreign battle fields, perhaps to lay down their lives for their country.

One of the most satisfactory ways in which the Federation has assisted our National and State Governments has been along public health lines, combating tuberculosis and venereal disease. For over twelve years a campaign of education against these diseases has been carried on by our organization, and prominent physicians have assisted us in every way possible. Notable among these as speakers at our annual conventions upon venereal diseases are Dean Vaughan and Dr. A. S. Warthin of the University (who have also gone, free of charge to individual clubs), Dr. Carolyn Geisel of Battle Creek Sanitarium and Dr. Rachelle Yarros of Hull House Chicago, and, later, speakers sent us by the State Board of Health and by Dr. Martin of Battle Creek Sanitarium. Therefore, with this work

at heart and with considerable preparation it was quite natural that our organization should be chosen by the State Board of Health to assist in the campaign that is now being waged among women and girls against this terrible scourge.

We have helped with the "Children's Year" program which was inaugurated by President Wilson upon April 6, 1918, the first anniversary of our entrance into the war, and through our child welfare chairman, Mrs. E. S. Leonard of Detroit, many communities have been visited and inspiration given,—the work among the children in Detroit has been noteworthy indeed.

Notable work has been done in our department of Home Economics through Miss Georgia L. White, director of Home Economics, Michigan Agricultural College, and Miss Lenna F. Cooper who held the same position in Battle Creek Sanitarium, respectively, who headed the department for the Federation during the war period when much valuable information and expert help were furnished our women over the State. A "Milk Survey" was conducted by Miss Cooper in Battle Creek and the findings given out to the clubs as a basis to work upon in carrying out these surveys in the various communities of Michigan.

The Federation, through its department of Civics, with Mrs. A. H. Finn of Detroit, chairman, conducted a state-wide survey of the motion picture theaters during the past winter, and made a vigorous but unsuccessful attempt to have legislation enacted that will prevent this great educational possibility being diverted to vicious and immoral uses as is now being done, for there is no gainsaying the fact that many of the infant criminals of today receive the suggestion from the

motion picture screen. This work was undertaken as a war measure.

But I should tax your patience were I to attempt to tell what special undertakings are being made by all of the nineteen departments of work in our organization; suffice it to say that the membership is trying to get at the facts of working and living conditions and is lending a hand for the common welfare, through these departments, and happiness is being found through service.

Thus our "Invincible Army" is marching straight forward. Patriotism has been the dominant thought of the period, while at the same time a campaign of education has been carried on over the State for the creation of a board and enlightened opinion concerning the causes and contingencies involved in the great conflict and what peace terms should include. The great mass of Michigan club women have not overrated their ability to do things for they have seen what united effort will do. The pledge of the womanhood of the great State of Michigan has stood solidly back of all governmental policies for the successful carrying out of the war's gigantic military program which the United States assumed, and will stand just as loyally during the period of readjustment upon which we have entered, for herein lies one of our greatest opportunities for service. The women composing the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs have been alive to the pressing needs of the hour, and measures have been passed and executed that would justify any praise I might bestow upon them. That you may understand what a power such an organization of consecrated womanhood can wield and the faith our Government

reposes in it, a little incident of our war service convention held in Traverse City will be illuminating:

Miss H,—a club president from St. Joseph County, came to me as the presiding officer and asked if there were not something our great Federation could do to help secure fuel for the more than fifty families in that prairie region who were entirely without a stick of wood or kindling or fuel of any kind to protect the aged, the ill and the small children who were actually suffering from cold. Miss H— was asked to take the platform and present the case to our women in the hope that a solution of the problem might be offered by some of the wise club presidents there assembled.

No suggestion was forthcoming and our peerless leader, our parliamentary authority and oracle, Mrs. Emma A. Fox, was appealed to and even she had no suggestions to offer, but said: "It is surely a problem for us to think about." At the close of the convention Miss H— came to me and again propounded the question: "Is there not *something* this great Federation can do to relieve the situation down in St. Joseph County? Our granaries are bursting, so great has been the harvest, and unless help is forthcoming from the fuel administrator our men say they will burn this grain for fuel, notwithstanding the appeals that are coming from Mr. Hoover." The situation was an uncomfortable one for the State president, and my reply was: "I do not know what we can do unless I take up the matter with Mr. Hoover," not knowing what else to say and knowing a reply of some sort must be made to the question.

Having been delayed in reaching home I found a letter from Miss H— asking if I had taken up the matter of fuel for St. Joseph County with Mr. Hoover. Having

been thus thrust into a corner and not knowing what else to do I said to my good husband: "I guess I will long-distance Mr. Prudden," but the reply came that the gentleman had "just left for Washington." Being put to my wits' end, realizing my own helplessness but at the same time my great desire to serve my constituency, I again turned to my husband and said: "Shall I call up Mr. Hoover?" and his reply was: "Send him a night letter." I did so, setting forth the situation as best I could in fifty words, feeling that my duty had been done at least.

This was Sunday evening and on Monday morning a reply came from Mr. Hoover saying the fuel would start for St. Joseph County, Michigan, Monday morning. The message was repeated to the club in that county and the fuel arrived a little later.

In this way we have been emboldened to undertake anything and everything that will work for good to our loved Commonwealth.

So, an effort is being made to stress the work of our departments that have to do with the questions of the day and we are cooperating in a great national campaign that is being carried on in an effort to reduce child mortality and to lessen the tendency toward defective childhood of school age; to help solve the problem of the sub-normal child and the juvenile delinquent; to help stamp out tuberculosis and venereal disease; to help conserve the great natural resources of our country; to cooperate along definite, practical lines in the Americanization of our immigrants who are clamoring for instruction in the fundamentals of citizenship; to bring up the child of the future in the way he should go and strengthen his ability to endure the strain of the new era of competition that will

come with the readjustment that has been made necessary to meet new conditions. In fact every realm of social endeavor is needing and is calling for the sane, wise leadership that characterizes the membership of the Federated Clubs, and the seeking will not be in vain.

Past-Presidents of the Michigan Authors' Association

By Pruella Janet Sherman

DETROIT

HON. CHASE S. OSBORN

THERE has never been a man at the head of the Michigan Authors' Association who has not lent prestige to the Association; perhaps none more distinguished than Hon. Chase S. Osborn, Ex-Governor of the State, who served as chairman from June, 1916 to June, 1917.

Unfortunately for the Association, the fact that Mr. Osborn lived in the Upper Peninsula, in Sault Ste. Marie, made it impossible for him to be always at the monthly meetings. But when he did come, he was hailed with sincere greeting. His ready wit and vivid personality always left their impress, and the members appreciated his efforts to be with them.

Once he appeared unexpectedly at a meeting, when the vice-president, Mr. Winfield Lionel Scott, was to present a paper upon "The Holy Land," whence he had recently returned. Mr. Scott at once proposed to change the program, in honor of the president, to which Mr. Osborn replied in his brusque fashion:

"Nothing of the sort; I've come several hundred miles to listen to this paper, and I'm not going away without hearing it."

After this forceful retort, the program proceeded.

When the year of his office as president of the Association had rolled around, there came the function, the formal annual banquet, at which Mr. Osborn presided as toast-master. It was the seventh annual social gathering, held at the Hotel Cadillac, Detroit, which has always been the headquarters of the organization.

Around the long tables were gathered nearly two hundred people, including some of Michigan's most brilliant speakers: Mr. David Inglis, noted alienist, whose name appeared early in the program; Adam Strohm, superintendent of Detroit Public libraries; Rev. Louis A. Falley, S. J.; Rev. Chester B. Emerson, Congregational minister, authority on literature, poet, and a most appealing speaker, (later serving with the Y. M. C. A. in France); Winfield Lionel Scott, who read an appropriate original poem; Charles D. Cameron, well known correspondent for the Detroit *Journal;* Mrs. Emma A. Fox, Michigan's noted woman parliamentarian; Rev. Charles L. Arnold, Episcopal clergyman, philanthropist and author; Professor Moritz Levi, who spoke brilliantly on the "The Drama—Its Relation to Literature;" Hon. Louis J. Rosenberg, lawyer, and one-time American Consul, at Cadiz, Spain; Norman Hackett, Michigan's beloved actor; Ward Macauley, author and playwright; James Schermerhorn, editor Detroit *Times;* and Harold Jarvis, noted soloist, who illumined the feast with song. Mr. Osborn introduced each speaker with clever reference to some characteristic, either serious or amusing; but when he presented Mr. Schermerhorn, Michigan's famous after-dinner speaker, he met his equal in the contest of wit. The incident was so exceedingly funny that it will bear relating.

Mr. Osborn spoke at length in praise of Mr. Schermerhorn, lauding everything he had ever done, literary, journalistic, or civic, embroidering his remarks with marvelous rhetoric, and delivering them with soul-stirring energy. It was really a great flourish of trumpets in behalf of Mr. Schermerhorn, and was received with loud applause.

In response Mr. Schermerhorn took up the line of talk where Mr. Osborn had dropped it, so to speak, and the flattering tribute he paid to Hon. Chase S. Osborn, was something thrilling. His voice rose with emotion, and just as the audience began to wonder which man could speak the most words in the least time, Mr. Schermerhorn suddenly dropped his voice to an ordinary pitch, turned with a bow to Mr. Osborn, and remarked, with gravity: "There! I guess that evens up the advertising."

The laughter that followed drowned Mr. Schermerhorn's first attempts at his real speech; and for once Mr. Osborn acknowledged that the joke was on him.

This banquet was typical of others which had occurred annually, but this present year the tide of war swept gayety from our minds to a great extent, and the usual elaborate menu, both in the way of food and mental exhilaration, was replaced by a simple informal dinner, as the closing function of the season.

The programs during the latter part of the past season have been mostly devoted to patriotic subjects, and patriotic songs—themes promoting zeal in the love and honor in which we hold our country, and in a broader comprehension of the sacrifices being made for its salvation.

The life of Hon. Chase S. Osborn has been an eventful one filled with action and execution of ideals.

Hosts of Michigan people know about his career, but perchance some who may be reading the *Michigan History Magazine*, may not be familiar with the trend of his life, and to these I present a few facts worth remembering, both as connected with the interests of our State, and as something for young men to emulate.

First let us touch upon him as a writer, for that is the phase of his work which brought him in sympathy with the Michigan Authors' Association, and placed him in its highest office.

As a successful newspaper man Mr. Osborn measures up with the best in the profession. His early life was spent at Lafayette, Indiana, and his first reporting was done for the Lafayette *Home Journal.* At the age of nineteen, he went to Chicago as a reporter on one of the city papers. Gradually he climbed the ladder of journalism, and later we find him managing editor of the Milwaukee *Signal*, and subsequently filling an editorial position on the Milwaukee *Evening News.* Later he became the editor and part proprietor of the Florence *Mining News*, and in 1887 established the *Miner and Manufacturer*, of Milwaukee. Afterwards he became city editor of the Milwaukee *Sentinel* and still later purchased the Sault Ste. Marie *News*, and in 1902 became the owner and editor of the Saginaw *Courier and Herald.*

Mr. Osborn in his busy newspaper life still found time to contribute to various magazines, and as a result of his travels in South America wrote a two-volume book entitled *The Andean Land.* His latest work is *The Iron Hunter.* Earlier in life he was a student at Purdue University, and, although he did not graduate from this institution, his scholarly

attainments and later distinguished public service obtained for him the degree of LL.D., from the University of Michigan and from both O ivet and Alma College. He has traveled much, making scientific discoveries in out of the way places, especially in Afr ca and Madagascar, and has written several books along these lines. He is an honorary member of the Madagascar Academy of Science. His love of birds caused him to make a study of their habits, and to become an authority on bird life, and he is a member of the American Ornithologists' Union. An Odd Fellow and a Knight of Pythias, Mr. Osborn also stands high in Free Mansonry, having had conferred on him the 33rd Scottish Rite. He belongs to a number of high-class clubs, and is, meanwhile, a member of the Presbyterian Church and has filled important civic offices in his State. He has a beautiful home at Sault Ste. Marie, and a very interesting family. Mr. Osborn was elected Governor of Michigan in 1910 on the Republican ticket. For two years he gave to his State the benefit of his high ideals and broad experience. From 1908 to 1911 he served as a regent of the University of Michigan.

At the time of his election to the governorship of Michigan, a Detroit newspaper, in presenting to the public a photographic reproduction of Mr. Osborn, observed:

"Any time there is a chance to do something different, Chase S. Osborn does it that way. For instance, we are forced to offer to our readers a photographic reproduction of Mr. Osborn instead of a reproduction of an oil painting, for the simple reason that there is no oil painting. From Lewis Cass to Ferris, Michigan's Governors' protraits are hung on the walls of the State Capitol,—all except Mr. Osborn's. 'Time

enough when I'm dead,' was Mr. Osborn's reply when asked to sit for his portrait. Perhaps, adds the writer of the observation, "that was only one of Mr. Osborn's excuses for not sitting still more than ten seconds at a time,—as nothing in his life or battles would indicate that he was too modest to accept the honor."

While this might be construed as a good-natured fling at Mr. Osborn's aggressiveness, it is also a tribute to his ceaseless energy; to the natural force of a man "who cannot sit still for more than ten seconds at a time." Had he been less energetic he would not perhaps have found time in his busy life to act as president of the Michigan Authors' Association, which would have been a matter of deep regret among its members.

LOUIS JAMES ROSENBERG

Louis James Rosenberg, LL.B., president of the Michigan Authors' Association, from June, 1918 to June, 1919 is a Detroit man, well known as a lawyer, social worker, and man of affairs, to whose logical mind is added a literary trend of a serious and thoughtful nature.

Mr. Rosenberg was especially fitted to fill the position of leader. Holding high ideals for the general uplift of humanity, and looking always to the best in literature, he brought to the office of president an enthusiasm which radiated success in the work of the Association.

Mr. Rosenberg was born August 3, 1876. He was educated in the public schools and by private tutors, and has studied languages in several foreign countries. In 1900 he was admitted to the Michigan Bar, and

practiced law in Detroit until 1906, when he was appointed American Consul at Seville, Spain, where he remained until 1909, filling the same office at Pernambuco, Brazil, during 1909 and 1910, after which he returned home and resumed his law practice in Detroit.

Active in reform, philanthropic and educational movements, Mr. Rosenberg has been a delegate to various congresses and conventions. Among his public activities may be mentioned legislation against the spread of tuberculosis, establishment of Juvenile Court, and legislation regulating the selling of steamship tickets and the business of receiving money for transmission to foreign countries.

He has been President and Counsel of the Peoples' Securities Company; Director and Counsel of the Michigan Authors' Association previous to his election as chairman; is a member of the American Historical Association; of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; American Society of International Law; American Bar Association; Michigan State Bar Association; Navy League of the United States; National Arts Club; Scarab Club; and various other organizations; trustee of the Jewish Publication Society of America; and special lecturer in the School of Commerce and Finance of the University of Detroit on "Government Assistance in Foreign Trade."

The literary work of Mr. Rosenberg embraces a wide range of themes, including foreign affairs, medical jurisprudence, legal ethics, sociologic, philosophic and literary subjects. He is the author of several books, including *Mazzini, the Prophet of the Religion of Humanity*, published in 1903; *The Medical Expert and Other Papers*, published in 1911; and *Scraps and Bits*, 1916. He is joint author of *Sociologic Studies of a*

Medic-Legal Nature, issued in 1902, and other articles on legal ethics.

His book, *Scraps and Bits*, although signifying by its title a collection of Fragments, really contains rare food for thought, well expressed. Perhaps the essay on "Gladstone and Disraeli—A Study in Personalities," might be ranked as the best of the collection, although his chapter, "The Makers of Italy," is beautiful and inspiring; while his study of the three Russian writers, Dostoieffski, Turgen, and Tolstoy, touches briefly but strongly on the special characteristics of these famous men.

There is in this collection an abstract from an address entitled "Faith—The Key to Happiness," which particularly appeals to the thoughtful seeker after life's compensations, and from which the following extract is taken, showing again the logical consecutiveness with which the writer follows his thought to its conclusion. Following is the extract:

"If I were to be asked what is the underlying cause of our discontent and misery, I would unhesitatingly answer that it is due to the fact that we lack what a noted preacher recently called God-consciousness. What is most needed at this time is to develop the full consciousness of an ever-present, everlasting God. Think of yourself in relation to God and less in relation to things, then lack of material things will cause less discontent. External conditions will not overcome you, nor illness crush your spirit. . . . . Have faith in God and in your own divinity. When downcast, retire into your own soul and consult God, and you will find that He will give you strength and happiness . . . . . patience, fortitude and contentment."

While this extract may not be strictly typical of Mr. Rosenberg's literary works, it gently unveils the religious undercurrent of his nature, a trait of character much to be desired in these days of doubt and disaster.

Personally Mr. Rosenberg is active and alert, a serious thinker, a ready speaker, and keen to get at the cause of things, that he may more clearly understand results, and seek remedies if they are required. Contact with the world has not robbed him of enthusiasm nor shaken his confidence in mankind. Thus one finds him optimistic, kindly, courteous,—a student of human nature as well as of books.

War Work of the American Red Cross of Michigan

By Sidney T. Miller

Detroit

THOSE of us who were lucky enough to see any of the Red Cross parades in this State when drives were made for various funds during 1917 and 1918, knew full well that the days of Germany were numbered, for those parades were made up almost wholly of Michigan women. Mothers, wives, daughters, sisters and sweethearts of our boys overseas flocked to the one banner under which they could all serve, with a single-mindedness that proved Kipling was right when he said,

> The Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady are sisters under the skin.

American womanhood was aroused, it wanted the Hun beaten and our boys and our allies cared for, and when the wonderful heart of American woman is sure its cause is just, it brings an inspiration which none can withstand.

The men of the State rallied quickly to help in Red Cross work wherever they were needed. A roster of our chapter officers shows that strong and clear-headed men took hold with a will in every county, giving a large part of their time and much of their strength to the cause, and we all know they did it gladly,—yes, eagerly,—and they can rest secure in the knowledge that they all played their parts well in the war-work

behind the guns. Their chapters were well organized, their work was carefully systematized and their records were conscientiously kept. It is impossible of course to give a full statement here of all that our Red Cross people did in Michigan and this must be but an outline; the growth of the organization was so sudden and the results reached were so large and so varied, that no complete history ever can be written.

In 1916 we had 709 members in the whole State. By March 1917, this number had increased only to 1,425, though the whole country then had 308,827. When war was declared, it was plain that the Red Cross aid would be sadly needed immediately. Accordingly plans for perfecting an efficient organization in Michigan were outlined by the national officers of the society, after consulting with some of us who had been familiar with developments up to that time.

Mr. Frederic W. Stevens, of Ann Arbor was installed as the head of the State organization, with Mr. Mark T. McKee as Secretary. A State Board, which was fairly representative of the different parts of the Commonwealth, was appointed by Governor Sleeper, and held one or two meetings. It was due to the wisdom and skill of Mr. Stevens, however, coupled with the tireless energy of Mr. McKee that the ground work in this State was so well prepared. The general plan was to have a chapter in each county, with headquarters in the most convenient center. To reach outlying districts, branches of the chapters were organized which were tributary to the county organization.

The results have justified the plan adopted, as Michigan has stood at the head in Red Cross matters ever since the State organization was completed. Our member-

ship has increased from the 1,425 aggregate which we had on March 1, 1917, to 1,037,000 on March 1, 1919, which, with a Junior membership of 425,000 gives our State an aggregate of almost one-half of its population as belonging to the Society,—something which is not equaled in any other State in the Union.

Mr. Stevens' health gave out during the early summer of 1917, and early in the fall I was asked to succeed him as head of the State work. At that time, it was estimated we had about 35,000 members in Michigan, but the State was afire with enthusiasm and it was evident that a goodly corps of officers and divisional workers must be assured forthwith. By arrangement with Chicago, all Red Cross shipments from the Upper Peninsula were sent through that office to save time and money. Everything from the Lower Peninsula came through Detroit. A central State office was established in Detroit, with headquarters *donated* by an Insurance Company, which is now renting the same space for $5,000 a year. Inspection and shipping rooms were *given* free by a building owner, the same space now renting for over $4,500 a year. Our force was installed.

Generally speaking, the work was divided under several headings, each in charge of competent volunteers. For convenience, we may divide these into two general classes,—Overseas and Domestic. In the Overseas part would be the departments of Women's Work, Hospitals and Nurses, and Personnel. In the Domestic branch would be Military Relief, Home Service or Civilian Relief, Canteens, Motor Corps and Miscellaneous.

To give any idea of the magnitude of the work done, it is necessary to lapse into general statistics, though

space forbids much interesting detail. The department of Women's Work stands at the head of the remarkable accomplishments of civilians in the war. Michigan was peculiarly fortunate in having as the head of this bureau, Mrs. R. H. Ashbaugh, of Detroit. This branch made the hospital supplies and knitted goods for the men, and made up comfort kits, etc. It also had charge of the inspection and packing of all these supplies. Up to date, it has not been possible to get a straight census of these workers in this State, but their name is legion. The figures showing what they did from the time our State organization took hold in September, 1917, through December, 1918, speak for themselves.

Surgical dressings, 11,852,867. Value, $481,850.86.
Hospital garments, 582,632. Value, $1,051,218.72.
Hospital supplies, 661,547. Value, $163,874.57.
Refugee garments, 262,885. Value, $298,461.26.
Comfort kits, etc., 121,168. Value, $18,892.36.
Knitted articles, 980,248. Value, $1,573,256.80.

Total number of articles, 14,461,257. Total value, $3,587,454.57.

Every article was inspected by its chapter and again at headquarters before it was packed.

Of course many of the knit things were supplied to our men on this side, but as the general purpose was overseas relief, this work may be rightly so classed.

Next in the Overseas part would come the Hospitals, Nurses and Ambulances. Michigan equipped and manned two hospitals, one under Dr. Angus McLean and the other headed by Dr. B. R. Shurly. At the call, many of our most prominent and successful physicians dropped everything and went to help. The funds for both hospitals were furnished by Detroit,

but the medical staffs and the nurses drew from other parts of the State as well.

Besides these fully equipped hospitals, the State furnished Hospital Unit "2" from Grand Rapids, under Dr. Richard R. Smith, and American Red Cross Ambulances and ambulance staffs No. 8, from Detroit, under Dr. Charles Barton; No. 11, from Battle Creek, under Dr. James T. Case; No. 15, from Grand Rapids, under Dr. Thos. D. Gordon; No. 21, from Flint, under Dr. Walter H. Winchester.

With these hospitals and units, and to other points needing them, there went from our State 404 nurses. While more of them went with Hospitals 17 and 36 than with any other units, except Camp Custer, they were scattered through 61 hospitals and camps in all. Their work is too well known to call for description here. Some of our doctors and several of the nurses were honored by decorations or citations, but it has been impossible to get a list of them as yet.

The Personnel Department was brought into being in the spring of 1918, and dealt with all applications from people wanting to volunteer for overseas Red Cross service other than medical. Every individual was carefully investigated as to fitness,—physical, moral, mental and patriotic. This meant almost ceaseless care and responsibility, as utmost precaution was taken to keep out any persons who might have a tainting effect. Between the spring of 1918 and the signing of the armistice there went from Michigan to positions overseas 116 men and 24 women, not including the doctors and nurses, of course. Of these, 46 were executives. Those who went included Bishop Williams of Detroit; Judge Fead, of Newberry; Fenton McCreery, of Flint; Daniel L. Quirk, of Ypsilanti; Andrew Green,

head of the Solvay Process in Detroit; Paul F. Bagley, of the Bagley Tobacco Company; Cameron Currie, a Detroit broker; and many others of prominence. When the armistice came, we had 594 male applicants and 797 women whose qualifications had been considered and a large number of whom were accepted and ready to go. This department was under the faithful and efficient direction of Mrs. Ernest C. Wetmore, for women, and Mr. William P. Harris, for men. It was like a busy employment office for many months.

An interesting part of the work of the Red Cross in 1917 was the care of the raw recruits to the military and naval posts in this State. This came under the Department of Military Relief. The first appeal was on April 15, when the Navy Department ordered its respresentative at Detroit (Captain F. A. DeOtte) to institute a Coast Patrol Service the next day. A complement of volunteers has assured the Department of the men for this job, but Captain DeOtte had neither boats, arms, uniforms, equipment or money. Nevertheless, he began his work without question. His enthusiastic young jackies were spread along the vulnerable parts of the waterways between this country and Canada at various points from and including the Soo, down to the Lime Kiln Crossing at Lake Erie. The boys borrowed launches, wore any old clothes that they could spare and obtained the loan of a few automatics to give them badges of authority. The Red Cross supplied them with blankets and when the pay-rolls were delayed, as was natural at the start, it supplied them with funds. This patrol kept our most important channels of communication properly protected and policed, and greatly facilitated the carriage of grain and ore by the large lake boats.

The next appeal of interest came from Camp Custer. A man was needed to take charge of the Red Cross work there. To secure him, a short notice was inserted in the Sunday edition of a Detroit paper, saying that if any one wished to give his entire time, pay most of his own expenses and work all day every day, the Red Cross would promise him a roof and something to eat. The next morning a dozen attractive applicants were on hand shortly after the headquarters' office was opened. They were men who by reason of age or physical disability were barred from service. Mr. Daniel Quirk, of Ypsilanti, who was then in charge of our Military Relief work, selected from the number Mr. R. C. Wessels, of Detroit, who proved the right man in the right place. Mr. Wessels suggested that he was the logical man for the place as his initials were R. C., which stood for Red Cross, and no one ever doubted it after he took hold.

Through his staff at Custer, and through the home office staff, which reached the men in service in the Coast Patrol, the aviators at Selfridge Field, the troops at Fort Wayne, the Auxiliary Naval station at the River Rouge, and the various troop trains, etc., there were distributed to our men the following supplies:

125,000 sweaters
165,000 pairs of socks
55,000 helmets
27,000 mufflers
48,000 wristlets

as well as quantities of comfort kits, tobacco and various toilet articles. In addition, this branch helped the morale of the new recruits just going from home to the army camps, by providing various forms of entertain-

ment. One of the most notable was a mammoth Christmas tree at Camp Custer, around which those men who were left in camp on that day gathered for a Christmas celebration, and which seemed in a way to relieve their homesickness.

With the men of the households going into service, it was of course necessary to help the dependent families in various ways. To meet this, the Red Cross instituted the Civilian Relief, or Home Service Department, every chapter in the State having a committee for this purpose. The work of this branch still continues all through the State. It not only supplied advice to those left behind as to obtaining the pay allotment made by the men in service, but assisted the families about the payment of rent, purchase of supplies when funds were short, the furnishing of necessary medical attendance, and in every way tried to supply the lack of the head of the house as best it might.

We have no full report of its activities, and never could get one, because they were so varied; but it may be interesting to know that from the month of March, 1918, through the month of January, 1919, financial assistance was given to over 60,000 families, the amounts expended being over $294,000. Of course, in computing this number of families, there are many repeaters, because the families were listed from month to month; but the number steadily increased from 2,000 in March to 11,000 in January. This, by the way, does not begin to cover the extremely efficient work done by the Detroit Chapter, which, since the armistice, has added a bureau to assist men in getting to their homes and in obtaining work.

While it may not be strictly a part of the war work of the Red Cross, it should be noted that during the Influenza epidemic last fall, the Civilian Relief Department, with the cooperation of the nurses, gave aid all through the State. In many places emergency hospitals were organized. At Muskegon, a hospital of outstanding efficiency was instituted, which cared for 197 patients. Of these, 19 died. The attendance given to the patients, 1383 days, was a total cost to the Chapter of $4,314. In meeting the epidemic, our whole organization was placed at the disposal of the State Health authorities, and one of our secretaries was installed in the office of the Health Board. This secretary was in constant touch with our own headquarters, and the Society helped by marshalling the nurses and doctors at the points where the epidemic raged most threateningly.

To help alleviate the lot of the raw recruit when new in the service, as well as that of the veteran who had been tanned by many suns, the Society instituted the Canteen Service, whose duty was to see that the men starting for camps or passing through the more important railway points received some refreshment and attention. There were more chapters willing to establish canteens than the organization deemed wise, but at 24 junctional, divisional or terminal railroad points, Canteen Service committees enrolled over 1,200 women canteen workers, and we have yet to hear of a single instance of "men on active duty" in transit through Michigan who were neglected. Whether the weather was sizzling hot or bitter cold, these committees were at their stations. Gardner Morris, of Chicago, who had general supervision of this work in our State, has not as yet obtained complete reports, but to illustrate

what was done, we may take the figures of the Detroit Chapter, which showed the men cared for prior to 1918 to be 39,312; those from January 1,198, to April 20, 1919, 310,100. During the last *seven* months, these men were given either full meals, or hot substantial food (with something to smoke afterward), or hand-outs or box luncheons, which aggregated 150,000 in number. The reports for the months prior to September, 1918 were not itemized. As a tribute to the faithfulness of the ladies in charge of this work, we may say that the largest day of the Detroit Chapter Canteen was in July, 1918, when 4,250 passed through. Although it was one of the hottest days of the year, and although the canteens at some of the stations were stifling, everyone of these men received some food and some further attention. Holidays were not forgotten by these canteens, and men who passed through Michigan on Thanksgiving Day, Christmas or New Year's Day, received dinners of turkey and pumpkin pie, with other appreciated delicacies. At any small points where regularly organized canteen committees were not needed, and which are not included in the figures given above, the chapters had committees which went to the railway stations with the recruits as they were sent off by their draft boards, and gave them some little token of friendship and good feeling, as well as some solace in the way of chocolate or "smokes."

No sketch of the Red Cross service in this State would be complete without prominent mention of the Motor Corps Service. This was organized to help in the general work and proved peculiarly efficient in carrying the volunteers of the Civilian Relief Department around to see the various families, in caring for emergency calls where men in service were ill and had

to be taken to hospitals from trains, and in gathering the canteen workers and transmitting supplies. All in all there were eight organized Chapter Motor Corps, with 234 members. In addition, there were scattered members whose communities were not large enough to sustain a full corps, and of course there should be ranked as outriders in this work the many hundreds of volunteers all through the State who freely loaned their cars for Red Cross work.

In the Department of Motor Service proper, most of the 234 members were of the first rank. They were bright, alert young women, and in order to qualify in this division had to pass a thorough test which involved not only driving but a knowledge of the mechanics of the car driven, a course in first aid, a full knowledge of traffic regulations, as well, of course, as a test of patriotism and physical fitness. All these drivers were inoculated and supposed to be thoroughly protected. Doubtless they were protected from disease, but they could not be immune to the consequences of their own enthusiasm, and one young lady in Detroit died as the direct result of excessive fatigue, caused by too long a tour of service which she had undertaken without the knowledge of her immediate superiors. She was as truly a martyr to the cause as any of our glorious boys who went over the top.

In addition to the work covered by the various departments enumerated, the State headquarters, and to a large extent the Chapter headquarters likewise, responded to all kinds of miscellaneous calls. Perhaps the most interesting part of this work was with reference to the communications between the boys and their families. Our workers in France instituted a regular Bureau of Communications. Through it, it was the

endeavor to keep every man advised as to the condition of his home folk. Our State headquarters received inquiries as to people all through Michigan, and on the other hand transmitted questions from the families as to the condition of the men at the front. In many instances, this served to dispel worry. This same line of work carried money and supplies to those of our boys who were taken prisoners by the enemy, and in some instances to members of American families who were interned in enemy countries.

Other branches of miscellaneous work which are perhaps noteworthy were the campaigns for the colletion of clothes for refugees, the campaign for the collection of nut shells and fruit pits, which was instituted to help our Government in obtaining the chemicals necessary for high explosives. In this latter campaign, the Junior Red Cross was peculiarly efficient, and supplies were coming in by the carload when an urgent request came that the collection be stopped. It was almost as hard work to stop the Juniors as it was to get them started, and supplies continued to come in for a long time after notices were sent out.

A hard working and unobtrusive branch of the organization was that which attended to the packing and shipping. Over 13,000 cases were packed and sent wherever directed. They filled in the neighborhood of 70 carloads. Every case was marked with the exact contents which had been thoroughly inspected by the force in the Inspection room at Detroit. This force often included some of the prominent business men of the city, who wanted to help in a quiet way and who found that they could give two or three hours a day from their offices.

Taking it all together, the work in the State never lagged. Our campaign funds were raised by volunteer committees who turned over altogether more than six million dollars to the treasury of the National organization. When you consider that this fund was in addition to the large amount expended for the materials and supplies, whose value aggregated over $3,500,000, you will see that Michigan supported its Red Cross work by an aggregate of nearly $10,000,000, which is something of a business to handle in the course of eighteen or twenty months.

Within the limits of this outline, it is not possible to give the names of the thousands of efficient workers throughout Michigan. Every county did its part. No sketch of the State organization would be complete, however, without mention of some of those who gave faithful and efficient gratuitous service in the headquarters' offices and in campaigns. Amongst them are William Comstock, of Alpena, who helped in campaigns and succeeded Mr. Mark McKee as Associate State Director when the latter went into Government Service; Henry K. Jones and W. B. Palmer, who acted as Headquarters' Secretaries and had charge of the accounting; Miss Jessie R. Henkel, who gave all of her time to the Military Relief and Personnel Departments; Mrs. L. E. Gretter, head of the Nursing Service; Tracy W. McGregor, in charge of Civilian Relief work while it was carried on independently in this State; William P. Hamilton and William P. Harris, who succeeded Daniel L. Quirk in Military Relief after the latter went overseas; Paul King and J. Lee Barrett as Publicity men; Emory L. Ford and F. A. Huber, who had charge of the Shipping Department; Otto Sovereign, of Bay City, who headed the last War

Fund Campaign in Lower Michigan; and Peter W. Phelps, of Marquette, who took charge of it in the Upper Peninsula.

A story is told of an American soldier boy who was captured and told his German captors that he was a bugler. They asked him to sound the different calls, which he did perfectly, until they asked him for the "retreat." He said "that is a call I have never learned." The same reply would be true of our State Red Cross organization. It has always gone forward and never backward.

Recollections of Civil War Conditions in the Copper Country

By O. W. Robinson
Houghton

I CAME to Houghton County in June, 1862, and located at the Quincy Mine. There were few mines operating on the range except along the borders of Portage Lake. On the Houghton side were the Isle Royale, Huron and Portage, and on the Hancock side the Quincy, Pewabic, Franklin and Hancock. There were several prospects on the range, but these were the only mines that were producing copper.

The price of copper was low and wages were proportionately small. I secured my first job working on the surface at the Quincy Mine, receiving $26 a month, which was the average wage for men working on the surface at that time, and board and lodging ranged from twelve to fifteen dollars a month. Most of the mining at that time was done under contract at prices that afforded the miners from thirty to sixty dollars a month, according to the nature of the ground worked.

In those days the mining methods employed were wery crude in comparison with present day methods, although some of the machinery invented and used in the early sixties is still in use. There were no power drills and no rock crushers. Drilling was done by one man holding the drill while two men drove it alternately by means of sledge hammers.

After the rock was brought to the surface of the mine it was calcined and broken up by hand. At the

mouth of each shaft there was a long shed with open sides called a kiln house. In this, first was built a foundation of wood twenty-four feet square and four feet high, with arches or openings in which to start the fire. Around and over this pile of wood, mine rock was heaped to the height of four or six feet more, and then the wood set afire. The heat cracked the rock and made it much more easily broken, which was done by hand.

These kiln houses were large enough to allow the building of three kilns in each one, so that while one was being burned out another would be in process of construction, and the men might be breaking up the rock on the third. As the rock was broken up, that which was seen to contain copper was put in cars to be sent to the stamp mill, while that which carried no copper was sent to the rock pile. Each kiln house employed thirty to forty men, and this method of breaking the copper rock was used until the seventies.

The method of washing coarse copper was much the same then as it is now, but great improvement was made in the method of washing fine copper during the sixties, when the slime table, which is in use at the present time, was invented by Evans, who was superintendent of the Atlantic stamp mill.

The sand wheel, by means of which the stamp sand is elevated so as to get a longer fall and thus carry it away from the mill, was brought into use in the early sixties by Philip Schuermann, He had charge of the Quincy stamp mill and installed a sand wheel there in 1864, which was a big advance in the economy of handling stamp sand and is in general use today.

At that time, copper was being delivered into the United States from Spain cheaper than it could be pro-

duced here. It came in what were called Spanish Mats, and was not fully refined.

In the fall of 1862 the mining companies raised a fund of $5,000 to send a party to Washington to secure, if possible, a protective tariff on copper. A subscription list was circulated among the men at the mines and the business men of the villages to secure this amount, but the largest part of the fund was subscribed by the mining companies.

The fund was turned over to Jay Hubbell, then a young attorney in Houghton, to secure through our Congressman, John F. Driggs of Saginaw, the passage of a bill through Congress, placing a tariff of five cents a pound on copper for a term of five years. The bill was passed in the session held during the winter of 1862-63 and the law went into effect in the spring of 1863. This increased the price of copper and its production, but did not have much effect on wages until fall, when they were advanced, more on account of the scarcity of labor than the increased price of copper.

The Civil War began soon after the inauguration of President Lincoln in March 1861 and under the first call for volunteers a few younger men from Houghton County enlisted. I do not recall that there were any volunteers from Houghton County after 1861 and no draft was ever enforced here under later calls. The mining companies, on account of the scarcity of labor, preferred to buy substitutes, which they did, procuring many of them from eastern States, although they were credited to Houghton County.

Although our currency had depreciated throughout the country, there was at no time a shortage of currency here, as the mining companies issued their own circulating medium in the form of drafts to bearer,

of one, two, five, ten and twenty dollars. All local bills were paid in this currency and the only shortage was in fractional amounts of a dollar to make change. This form of money was used until 1874.

Even with the advance in wages in the fall of 1863, the prices of provisions had advanced so much that the Quincy mine officials decided to run a store in connection with the mine for the benefit of their employees. Up to that time they had refused to conduct a "mine store," but in the fall of 1863 they put in a stock of staple provisions and groceries to supply their own employees at wholesale prices. They had shipped in enough flour, tea, brown sugar, etc., to supply their own employees during the winter, but for no others.

I do not recall that the prices of provisions advanced to as high a point during the Civil War as they have at present. Flour sold at from eight to nine dollars a barrel. The only thing I remember that advanced very much in price was granulated sugar, which sold at from thirty to forty cents a pound, and but little of it was used. That was before the days of beet sugar, and most that we received came from the southern States. Meats were mostly salt meats, largely pork and pickled hams, which sold at about sixteen cents a pound.

The Quincy Company continued this store system until the close of the war, when they sold out their store to S. D. North of Rockland, whose son continues the business.

Under the advanced price of copper and the increased demand for it, the producing mines increased their output as much as possible, but found it difficult to get sufficient men to operate to full capacity. Consequently, in the early spring of 1864, they sent Allan

MacIntyre to Canada to secure men and he returned soon after navigation opened with a number of young men, mostly Scotchmen. Among them were several of the MacDonald families, John Dymock and others, who became our leading mining men and their descendants are among our most prominent citizens.

About the same time a young Swedish engineer, by the name of Silverspar, was employed at the Quincy mine, and he proposed that he secure a number of laborers in Sweden and bring them here. Following this suggestion, he was sent to Sweden by the several different mining companies under a special contract to secure men at a stated price for each able-bodied man.

He returned during the early summer with about one hundred and fifty laborers, many of them with families. They were Swedes, Norwegians and a few Finns, and these were the first immigrants to come directly to this mining district from the Scandanavian countries. These men were distributed to the different mines pro rata with the number of men working at each mine.

On the boat which brought these men from Detroit to Portage Lake, there happened to be a United States recruiting officer who enlisted between twenty and thirty of these men before the boat arrived at Houghton. The enlisted men did not leave the boat, but returned to Detroit, while Houghton County received credit for this number of men on their quota furnished for the army, although the men were never landed in the County.

It was rumored later on, that Silverspar, unable to procure men in other ways, went to the Swedish Government and secured permission to take men from the

prisons, under the promise that he would take them out of the country and that they would not return. Most of them were serving long sentences or life terms and the Swedish Government was thus saved the cost of supporting them, and it was these men that enlisted in the United States army.

The population of the district at that time was made up mostly of people from Ireland, England, Germany and Canada, many of whom had not become citizens. Others who had taken out their papers and voted, denied their citizenship to avoid conscription. The total political sentiment was largely Democratic, though our congressional sentiment was Republican. The congressional district at that time included all the Upper Peninsula and all the Lower Peninsula as far south as Saginaw County. There were a few "Copperheads," but the general war sentiment was in favor of the Union.

In the spring of 1864 the Quincy Mining Company built a barracks on the brow of the hill where the residences of Captain Harris and C. D. Hanchette now stand. These barracks were about 150 feet long and 70 feet wide, with enclosed sides and a board roof, and were used for drill work of volunteers. An instructing officer was furnished by the State and regular drills were held every week. About 150 men attended the drills, including men from the superintendent of the mine down to the miners, and it was done more as a measure for home protection than to furnish men for the army.

The State also furnished fire arms which were stored in the basement of the Quincy Mine office. This drill work was kept up until late in the fall of 1864, but the barracks were not removed until the close of

the war, and I do not recall that drills were held anywhere else in the county.

Our mail service during the season of open navigation was by boat and had no stated time of arrival, though we received on an average, two mails a week. There was no telegraphic communication between the upper and lower peninsulas; any startling war news was generally heralded on the arrival of the boat by an unusual blowing of its whistle, taken up by whistles along the shore.

I recall one instance,—when the boat arrived bringing the news of the capture of Vicksburg by Grant. Captain Spaulding, an enthusiastic Union man, had charge of the boat—the Northern Light—and as soon as the boat rounded Pilgrim Point and came opposite Dollar Bay, he began blowing and tooting the whistle and continued to do so all the way to Houghton. There had been many forest fires near, with the result that heavy smoke hung over the lake so that the boat could be seen only for a short distance, but every one realized some important news was coming. I was working a short distance from the ferry dock on the Hancock side, and knowing the boat would likely land at Houghton first, I took the ferry across the lake. Several tug boats had run out alongside the Northern Light, and as they learned the news, began tooting their whistles also, and other whistles along the shore began to blow.

In the meantime I had crossed the lake and could see the boat heading for the Smith and Harris dock,—now the Peninsula Wholesale Grocery. I reached the dock in time to hear the Captain announce that Grant had taken Vicksburg. Without waiting for the ferry boat to return from the Ripley, I ran back to the ferry

dock and hired a man for a quarter to take me across the lake in a small row boat to the old Smelting Works dock where there was a group of people waiting for the news. The whistles there began to blow, and I ran as fast as I could to the Quincy stamp mill, told them the news and started that whistle going,—the heaviest whistle in the county. The whistles at the mines joined in the chorus, until every whistle within hearing distance was tooting out the glad news, though most of the people did not know the exact nature of it.

While I was in the stamp mill one of the bitterest Copperheads in the country ran in where I was standing and said, "Where is the fire?" He had run all the way down the Quincy hill on the tramway and was breathless. I replied, "Fire nothing; Grant has taken Vicksburg," and he said, "D——n fools! blowing their whistles, I thought there was a fire somewhere."

The whistles kept up their racket fully half an hour until the news had spread pretty generally throughout the district. People were always eager to learn the news, so that usually in the evening of the arrival of a boat, meetings were held to hear and discuss it. That evening, meetings were held in different sections, and speeches were made that had a tendency to strengthen the Union sentiment.

Our winter mail service was still by dog train, overland from Green Bay, via Ontonagon, and news was necessarily much delayed. It was not until the spring of 1864 that we had any winter mail service other than by dog train. Two years previous, S. S. Robinson had put in a bid to carry the mail by stage over the same route as that used by the dog train to Green Bay, and in March, 1864, the bid was accepted. Prices of labor, horses, feed, etc., had increased so

much during the two years between the making of the bid and its acceptance, that Mr. Robinson decided not to undertake the work. But the business men held a meeting and persuaded him to accept it and said they would form a company to carry it on and meet the extra expense.

There was a fairly good winter road from Houghton to Ontonagon built in the early sixties along the copper range via Rockland. An appeal had been made to the State Legislature to assist in building this road, and a grant of swamp lands was made for the purpose, but no one could be found who was willing to build it. Consequently Houghton County took the lands, issued bonds and sold them to raise money to build it. A contract was let to Michael Finnegan, and it was known for years as the Finnegan Road; the present road to Ontonagon follows much of the old line. Much of the land which Houghton County owns today was secured at the time of building this road.

A pony trail had been cut out between Green Bay and Ontonagon, over which the French Canadians from Green Bay brought in fresh meats, chickens, etc., and a force of men was put on in 1864 to clean up and widen this trail. Ponies and small horses were secured and stationed at different points along the line, so that a continuous trip could be made, running day and night. The first mail under the new system reached Ontonagon in less than forty hours and Portage Lake some twelve hours later.

During that summer a gang of men was put on to widen out and otherwise improve the road from Ontonagon through to the Wisconsin line, and the following winter a stage line was run two or three times a week

over this route; it took three days and two nights to make the trip.

In the spring of 1865 this route was abandoned by the Government and the route from Escanaba into Marquette County adopted, and from there to Houghton County by dog train again. The Ontonagon mail was sent on from Houghton and this route was used until railroads came into the country.

At the beginning of the war, both Keweenaw and Ontonagon counties were producing more copper than Houghton County, and each had a larger population, but at the close of the war Houghton County had so increased its production over the other two counties, which had decreased their output, that it had become the leading copper-producing county of this district, and is so today. The population had changed also so that Houghton County had a larger number of residents than either of the other counties.

At the time I came here there was no road north of Hancock usable for teams for more than three miles, although there was a trail nearly as far as the old Cliff mine, and no road was opened until the Calumet and Hecla mine was discovered in 1866.

In the early times the mines and steamboats used wood for fuel and in fact no coal was shipped up here at all, except for blacksmiths, until 1870. Much of the land around Portage Lake and all the way to Keweenaw County was cut off to furnish fuel and timber for the mines, though some of it has grown up to second growth since. I remember that in 1862 and 1863 the original forest standing on the land now between East Houghton and the Isle Royale stamp mill, had been cut off and the land was then used for a hay field and was called the Shelden Farm. Since then it had grown

up to second growth and illustrates Nature's method of reforestation.

Another striking contrast to be seen is the improvement of transportation facilities of the present day over those of the early sixties. I recall an overland trip I made from Ontonagon to Green Bay in February 1856, when we were two weeks in reaching Green Bay. Our route lay from Ontonagon to L'Anse Bay, then to Huron River and down the river on the ice to a place on the mainland opposite Huron Island, where we camped. We took to the ice from there to Marquette, where we stayed three days. Then we went overland to Sand Point—now Escanaba—and followed along the shore of Green Bay on the ice to Green Bay City. From there we went by stage to Fond du Lac, which was our nearest railway station.

Again in the winter of 1865 I went from Houghton to Green Bay by stage, traveling day and night. The route lay along the line of the mail route already described through Ontonagon and took three days and two nights. In 1869 my wife and I made an overland trip, taking the route from Houghton to L'Anse, L'Anse to Lake Michigamme, and Lake Michigamme to Champion by stage; from Champion to Escanaba we went by rail and stayed there over night. From Escanaba we took a stage on runners to Menominee, but changed there to a wheeled stage which took us to Green Bay; there we met the train, having spent three days and one night traveling, besides the night spent in Escanaba. Today we make the trip in a Pullman car leaving Houghton in the middle of the afternoon and take breakfast in Chicago the next morning, making the distance in a less number of hours now than it took days in 1860.

The Quincy mine is today operating under the same management that it was in the sixties, and the eastern office has been in New York City since the organization of the company, excepting for one year—1873—when it was moved to Boston, but returned to New York in 1874. Mr. Todd, the present president, was assistant clerk at the Quincy mine in Hancock in 1863, but left there in 1863 to enter the New York office and has been there ever since. He was secretary for a number of years and became president on the retirement of of Mr. Mason, who had been the president continuously since the organization of the company, except the year 1873.

Sheldon Street, Houghton, today has but two old landmarks which I recognize as being the same as they were in 1862,—the Billy Edwards' house on the corner of Pewabic Street and Shelden Street and Dr. Fuller's house, the third from the corner of Franklin and Shelden streets, both on the south side of the street. In Hancock there are also only two buildings which are the same now as they were in the early days,—the old Methodist Episcopal Church on the corner of Ravine and Hancock streets, at present used for a second-hand store, and the old Masonic building opposite.

I recall but two business firms which were in existence at that time that are still conducted by members of the same families; one is Baer Bros. of Hancock, with branch stores at Calumet, Houghton and Dollar Bay, and the other is the F. A. Douglass Insurance Agency of Houghton. Both have been in continuous business since the late fifties.

LEWIS CASS AND THE SAGINAW TREATY OF 1819

By Henry E. Naegely
Saginaw

ONE hundred years is a long time in the history or life of a man, and even in the life of a young nation that length of time admits of vast changes. But in nature such a period is infinitesimal. One hundred years ago The Pointers pointed to Polaris with the same certainty that they do today and with the same certainty that they did when the Pharaohs were building the Pyramids of Egypt. In our day, in our time, in our nation and in its place, one hundred years has measured as great a transformation and change of conditions as ever occurred in such a given time. It has been a complete emerging from the barbaric life and customs of an Indian tribe into the civilization of another race possessing the highest ideals of democratic government and the soundest conceptions of maintaining those principles, the best ideals of religion, education, morality and the great and beautiful things in life that come to those who have an understanding of these great basic truths of existence.

A century ago on the very land where we are observing a centennial, the great tribe of Chippewa Indians was assembled, giving consideration to making a treaty with the Federal Government, by which they were relinquishing vast areas of land from the southern line of Lapeer County extending to the northern part of the Lower Peninsula and across the peninsula from lake to lake. This vast territory had few white inhabitants.

Address delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Saginaw Indian treaty of 1819, at Saginaw, Sept. 19, 1919.

In fact, at that time, there were perhaps not to exceed eight thousand white inhabitants in the entire territory of Michigan and, prior to the coming of Cass, there had not been a dozen white men in this vicinity; and there was only one white trader here, a Louis Campau of Detroit, who came here in 1816 as a fur trader, until after the signing of the Treaty of Saginaw.

Lewis Cass, the Territorial Governor of Michigan left Detroit on horseback with a few aides in September, 1819, and traveled through the vast wilderness as far as Flint, when his party took canoes and came down the Flint River and reached Saginaw. The Chippewas had been called together for council and met at a large open council hall directly across the river from where we now are, on a spot at about the corner of Hamilton and Clinton Streets. The council chamber was an open structure without side walls but with a roof which had been erected on trees, and here from twelve to fifteen hundred of the Chippewas with their various leaders and chiefs assembled. General Cass explained to them the needs of our country for obtaining this territory, and the desirability of the Chippewas being taken west, where they would be removed from the influence of the white race who were about to settle rapidly this State. The Indians took several days for consideration of everything that was involved in ceding this land to the Government and for agreements on the amounts that should be paid in cash, the annuities to be paid to tribes, the several amounts to be paid to chiefs and the lands in all the different sections that should be ceded to different individuals. After the fullest consideration, which involved from ten to twelve days, and on the 24th of September, 1819, the conditions of the treaty were agreed to on

the part of Governor Cass and the Indians, which was properly signed and executed. This very ground where we now stand was part of what was reserved to James Riley, one of the Chippewas, and it has carried his name from that time to now upon the official plats of the city.

Cass, at the time of the execution of this treaty, was thirty-seven years of age. He was born in New Hampshire in 1782 and was educated at the Academy of Exeter. His father was a major in the Revolutionary War. The family moved to Marietta, Ohio when Cass was about seventeen. Young Cass commenced the study of law in Ohio and was admitted to the bar. He was elected to the Legislature. He devoted his energies to the practice of law and at the age of thirty was recognized as a man of education, of excellent legal learning, a man who was familiar with the English Constitution and statutes and the Constitution of our own country, who had excellent reasoning capacity and who was a lawyer of distinction. During the War of 1812 he served under General Hull, whose surrender at Detroit he strongly condemned. He became a skilled military man and before the close of that war he arose to the rank of brigadier general in the regular army.

It was in 1813 that President Madison appointed Cass as Governor of Michigan Territory. He was continuously Governor and a resident of the State until 1831 and gave to the people of this great State the fullest measure of his talents, his time and his honesty of purpose. In 1831 he resigned the office of Governor and entered the broader field of national administration, accepting an appointment as Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Jackson.

While Governor he was prompt and bold in action and scrupulously honest in the business of the Territory. He never broke his word with an Indian, and it was this rare virtue that enabled him to negotiate treaties with fairness and secure every possible honest advantage to the Federal Government. It was these traits that won him such respect and affection that the Indians always designated him as "The Great Father at Detroit." His dignity, his kindness and his respect entitled him to this name.

Cass served as Secretary of War from 1831 to 1836, and it fell to him to conduct the Black Hawk and Seminole wars. In 1832 in the nullification controversy with South Carolina, he sided with the President and represented the Central Government in suppressing promptly the improper constitutional construction made by the State of South Carolina. His position with the President brought him into active cooperation with him and this had a great influence and effect on his later life.

In 1836 when he was fifty-four years of age, he resigned from the Cabinet and was appointed Minister to France, which position he held with distinction to his country. In 1842 the Webster-Ashburton Treaty between the United States and Great Britain was completed and England did not thereby relinquish her claim to the right of searching American vessels. Cass, while Minister to France in this year, on account of his strong opposition to giving any nation the right to search, retired as minister. His position, however, on this question made him very popular in his native land. He had much difficulty with the British during his governorship of Michigan because the British were always conniving with the Indians to assist British

arms and British measures, and he had the utmost distrust of that nation. And when this treaty was up for consideration, every energy that he possessed was directed against the treaty that would weaken America's position, and he was against permitting the exercise of an odious right; the peculiar charm of Cass' strength in this treaty, which was a victory for national sovereignty, was the "the sovereignty of the seas common to all nations but exclusive under every flag."

From 1845 to 1857 he was United States Senator from the State of Michigan. He loyally supported President Polk's administration during the Mexican War. He opposed the Wilmot Proviso and advocated the Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854. At the conclusion of his term as Senator in 1857 he was again honored and appointed Secretary of State under President Buchanan and held this office until December, 1860, when he retired, because he did not consider the administration firm enough in having sufficient reinforcements at Fort Sumter against any attack at the time of secession. At this time he was seventy-eight years of age. In every one of the offices he occupied he took a prominent, influential position. His speeches on all occasions were full of learning and were of a convincing character. His large figure, his finely shaped head, his firm mouth, his intelligent features bespoke earnestness and intellectual honesty. On retiring from President Buchanan's Cabinet he retired to private life in Detroit, where he died in 1866. Throughout the Civil War his years were spent quietly. He lived to see the Union restored and the curse of slavery wiped out. His home was the intellectual center of his community. The members of the bar spoke in living admiration of his life. He

was a scholar and a lover of books. He was a statesman. He was a warrior. He was a diplomat. And all of these qualities entitled him to a right to the highest position in American life, an honorable representative of the State and of the Nation, who rendered the most heroic and exacting service to his country and to his times.

If Cass had one predominant trait in addition to these characteristics which have been referred to, it was his staunch Americanism. In all of his negotiations with foreign powers, as Secretary of State or as Minister to France he was firm and fair in all things relating to the supremacy of the Nation. From an early date his Americanism was characteristic. The year following the signing of the Treaty of Saginaw, and while he was Governor, he left Detroit for a trip to the Sault, with a party in three birch canoes. The occasion for this was Indian troubles at that point. Cass reached the Sault about the middle of June, 1820, and the braves, who were restless and out of humor assembled to meet the Americans. They had on their best attire; many of them were adorned with British medals and they seated themselves with accustomed dignity, prepared to hear what General Cass had to say. The General saw that their boldness indicated impudence and he advised them that, to a certainty, an American garrison would be sent to the Sault if they could not treat like men. Excitement broke out. The chiefs disputed amongst themselves. The Indian camp was on a small hill a few hundred yards from that of the Americans. The dissatisfied chiefs went to their lodge and in a short time a British flag was flying in the face of the little company of white men. An attack was expected but in a moment General Cass made his

resolution; rejecting the offer of his associates, with no weapons in hand and only an interpreter beside him he walked straight to the middle of the Indian camp; tore down the British flag and trampled it on the ground. Then he addressed the panic-stricken braves and warned them that so long as American Constitutional Government was maintained, this land was not big enough to fly two flags over the same country, and that if any one dared to raise any but an American flag the United States would crush him.

So, we are here today, commemorating the signing of the Saginaw Treaty of 1819 with the Indians. At this same time, in this changed civilization we are commemorating the return to our shores of the brave boys who fought in the battles of 1917 and 1918 on the hills and slopes of Flanders and France. The two principles of life that are involved in these two events are identical because they both represent the principles of unified American life, that so long as this nation endures it must continue as one sovereign, independent, honorable nation of integrity and equality; and just so long as the deeds of 1819 are recounted and the deeds of 1917 and 1918 are brought before us and carried into practice, constitutional government in this land will continue to live.

Cass lived and died for these principles. He was an American worthy.

Essential Conditions of Permanent World Peace*

By Harry Hartman

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PEACE is near at hand. What sort of peace will it be? Let us hope, a peace that conforms to the better thought of all those who have paid by sacrifice and suffering the price of the world's redemption from the imminent threat of militarism. America entered the Great War to see it through, on the battlefield, and in the peace conference. Her war aims and her peace purposes were synonymous. Upon an intelligent appreciation of the unchanging and just principles which have become the program of the world, the Great Victory has been won by Foch and Haig and Pershing. Autocracy has been hurled down from its high pedestal with all its schemes of barbarity and intrigue. In the distance can be seen the inevitable destruction of the entire system with all its roots and branches to make room for a peace that looks to a new international order understood and supported by all who thoughtfully appreciate issues greater than territorial readjustments and balances of power.

During the dark moments when it seemed that there was a possibility for the mailed fist and shining sword of the German war lord to accomplish the world's undoing, American hearts with American ideals answered Lafayette and the news that rocked the globe on November Eleventh was the unofficial Second Declaration of Independence. This latest edition of the Rights of Man, this time for "men everywhere,"

*A winning essay in the Michigan Historical Commission's prize essay contest for 1918–19. (See October number of the *Magazine*, 1918, p. 641).

inspires us with the hope that soon the words of the old prophet shall be realized that "There shall come a time, a glorious time, when Nation shall not lift up sword against Nation, neither shall it make war anymore."

Thus America stood in the front line trenches and "battled for the Lord." Thus America has stood, in the personage of Mr. Wilson, at the Conference table, battling for Humanity. American sincerity and broadmindedness has ruled supreme so far. Let us gird up our loins to further trials, let us turn our eyes to the only true goal,—and never stop until we reach our destination.

First, then, what do we mean by peace? Surely more than a temporary and patchwork settlement of the issues between the European nations that existed at the outbreak of the War, and which led to the struggle that appeared to be first merely a conflict for supremacy among rival contestants. Peace congresses have hitherto been founded on the principle of trying to patch up an agreement between contending nations, instead of probing for the causes of a war and of regulating the relations between nations according to ascertained principles. One is tempted to say that one reason why there have been so many wars in the nineteenth century is because there have been so many peace congresses. There were three notable ones, besides many minor conferences—Vienna in 1815, Paris in 1856, and Berlin in 1878. All these treaties contained the seeds for another war. Peace agreements hitherto have always contained such seeds.

The diplomats at the Congress of Vienna disposed arbitrarily of states and peoples. Not many years after, however, revolutions broke out in Germany,

in Austria, and in Italy. The trouble with the Congress of Berlin was that it made its decision and went home. It expected that decision to be good for all time. It had faith in the ability of the world to stay that way. It provided no means whereby its decisions might be "stretched" to cover changes in tempers and powers that anyone might easily have predicted would inevitably arise. And so instead of controlling the changes, the changes more and more controlled it, until, in one case after another, they set the decisions of the Congress at *nil*.

There was more at stake in the recent war than the existence of individual states or empires, or the fate of a continent; the whole of modern civilization was at stake, and whether it should perish, or whether it should live and progress, depended upon whether the nations engaged in the war, and even those that were onlookers, learned the lessons that the war taught them. With the beginning of the Great War reliance on voluntary institutions suffered a fatal shock. It was plain that the efforts of the Entente to refer the Austro-Serbian dispute to a conference, efforts initiated by the, then, Sir Edward Grey were brought to nought by Germany simply because Germany had decided that the time was ripe once again to set in motion its great military machine, and that it had selected a moment to precipitate war when it was Austria's quarrel so that Austria could be counted upon with certainty as an ally.

Alexander B. Hart adds to the above: "The experience of the last four years shows that if the world should again be divided by a balance of powers, there would be two dominant groups; and that the United

States would be compelled, for self-protection, either to join one of those groups or else, as in 1917, in case of war, to come in as the makeweight. It will be impossible to stand neutral if autocratic enemies are again opposed to democratic friends. The only escape from entangling alliances is to enter into a world combination which might begin with the Powers which acted as one during the war—a matter of some twenty nations, large or small, which might immediately take in the neutrals, and might leave a place for the enemy Powers or the fragments thereof, as they set up stable governments based on good will to mankind."

But the greatest lesson of all to be learned from the war just passed is this. We saw that it was found necessary, in order to bring the war to a successful issue, to establish between the various nations of the Entente a system of international relations. This bond of union freely accepted, and this subordination of all to the general interest, have extended from the general conduct of the war to the domain of supplies, of finances,—in a word, to the whole life of the nations. The oversight thus exercised does not appear an annoyance or an encroachment but as a guarantee and an aid. In this closely knit bond of the Allies, the smaller nations are neither sacrificed nor subordinated. They feel that they stand on an equality as to their rights, no less than as to their duties, in the councils which decide upon the common action and upon the means of putting it in execution.

The necessity of some kind of union among independent states, even democratic states, if they are to establish permanent peace, is shown with especial clearness by our own early history. Soon after the coercive hand of the Revolutionary War had been

relaxed, and our thirteen commonwealths became virtually independent of each other, it took them only a short time—though they were non-militaristic and intensely democratic—to develop the same kind of disputes and the same spirit of mutual suspicion which we know too well in Europe. New York State ordered its troops to the Vermont border to enforce its boundary claims, while partisans burned houses and murdered farmers in this contested territory. Connecticut showed a genuine war spirit against Pennsylvania because of the inhuman treatment which the Pennsylvania military authorities inflicted upon the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming Valley. Our democracies were rapidly going the way of the military autocracies of the Old World; within these few years five of them went dangerously towards inter-state war. But they realized their danger, called an inter-state convention, and, after long discussion, adopted the present federal constitution, which the convention had drawn up. It was not their democracy but their federation which saved them.

In fact, democracy alone, however much we value it and however fiercely we intend to fight for it, must be admitted to have exerted, up to the present time, a relatively small influence in hastening international peace. Whatever advance has been made in limiting the area of war has thus far in history been accomplished solely by another means,—by uniting existing, independent political units into some larger group, thus bringing peace within continually widening areas. The independent primitive families became tribes; the tribes, city states; and the city states, the Roman Empire. After the fall of Rome, the practically independent feudal castles gradually became feudal duchies; the

duchies, kingdoms; and finally the kingdoms, the nations and empires of today. Each stage has brought peace to the previously warring units after they have once been united in the larger organization.

This process has been working out in a striking way in the recent past. Not a long time ago, as we count in history, Scotland and England were bitter enemies: Scotland, Celtic, and Presbyterian; England Anglo-Saxon, and Episcopal. For centuries their unending warfare lasted on,—until finally without conquest these old enemies were united, and cooperated as parts of the larger British nation. The states of Germany continually fought one another until they formed a union, which they later cemented by mutual consent into the German Empire. A similar development took place in Italy. Bitterly and constantly the little Italian city states contended against each other; but they all finally united, in large part by voluntary action, to form the modern kingdom of Italy, and thus brought peace and security to Venice, Florence, Genoa, Milan, and all their warring neighbors within the bounds of the Italian peninsula.

If the world's democracies are to keep the peace, they too must follow this historic process and form some greater political organization; without relinquishing their sovereignty they must league themselves together to achieve certain common purposes. Such a union of sovereign or partly sovereign states, that is, a federation, is an American conception. Forty years ago John Fiske pointed out that the idea of federation was America's greatest single contribution to civilization, and declared that it was "one of the most important in the history of mankind." Then he added, prophetically, " the principle of federation . . .

broadly stated contains within itself the seeds of permanent peace between nations." It is by federation that our own self-governing, partly sovereign, democratic states—differing in size, population, laws, customs, interests, and each with its local pride—succeed in maintaining peace and harmony throughout our continental-wide areas. It is by federation that the British Commonwealths, which are virtually independent, making even their own tariffs, their own immigration laws, and their own tests of citizenship, find security and the means of settling in common their common problems.

And thus urges Theodore Marburg in his *League of Nations*, "Mindful of this teaching of experience, we believe and solemnly urge that the time has come to devise and create a working union of sovereign nations to establish peace among themselves and to guarantee it by all known and available sanctions at their command, to the end that civilization may be conserved, and the progress of mankind in comfort, enlightenment and happiness may continue."

To us is given the greatest opportunity in history to regenerate the world, for we have ideals and science such as we did not have at the peace of 1815 or at the conclusion of any world war comparable to the last. Politically, the people of Western Europe are becoming convinced, as Americans long ago were convinced, that the rule of kings and overlords is a failure. They have largely done away with them. Also, the manifestations of the international spirit in science, in art, in labor unions, in business organizations, in humanitarian endeavors, is one of the striking symptoms of the age we live in.

There are still more favorable conditions to the formation of this Society of Nations. The overwhelming horrors of the recent war, and the appalling dangers to civilization itself of any recurrence thereof, must exercise a powerful effect on the nations of the world. Then there is the growing acceptance of the doctrine that, however admirable may be the sentiment of nationality, yet underlying it is a common humanity which has, in some respects, a paramount claim on the loyalty of us all. The movements towards religious reunion on one side and international labor organizations on the other are evidence of the strength of this sentiment. Even Bolshevism, before it degenerated into the bloody and ignoble tyranny of a few adventurers, may be cited on the same side. Finally, we have a right to place some confidence in the increasing recognition of the truth that all civilized states are parts of one economic whole. The Allies proved that sufficiently. Granted a well-ordered and vigorous organization of this kind, especially if it were joined by other nations besides those which are concerned in it at present, it might be used to compel all nations to become members of the proposed League. It would facilitate the economic coercion of a country bent on aggression, and by promoting international cooperation instead of competition might tend to remove some of the causes of international strife. Since, therefore, nations have shown a tendency to combine for other purposes, it does not seem hopeless that they should form an association to promote the greatest of all earthly blessings—namely, peace. It is the machinery required to enforce the principles of the League of Nations that causes the real difficulty. Discussion and delay must always make for peace. There-

fore the most important step is to devise machinery which, in case of international dispute, will, at the least, delay the outbreak of war, and secure full and open discussion of the causes of the quarrel. It is only, therefore, while the recollection of all we have been through is burningly fresh that we can hope to overcome the inevitable opposition and establish at least the beginning of a new and better organization of the nations of the world.

"One thing that promises success for the League of Nations idea," said Lord Robert Cecil, "is that the world for the first time in history is prepared to give it favorable consideration. Until the outbreak of the Great War public opinion, internationally speaking, was never favorable. That has been changed, and there will be a vehement desire on all sides to consider seriously every proposal that promised to prevent any such struggle as the last recurring again."

The League of Nations is essential to secure the peace of the world. And it does not follow that this League will be impossible because it had not been possible hitherto. What may formerly have been a dreamy ideal can now very easily be made practical. Nations at the present time desire this form of security. All small States must naturally desire in their own interest everything that will safeguard small states as well as great from aggression and war. President Wilson, of course, cordially accepts the World Alliance plan as the only feasible solution. So also have the governments of the Allies already drawn the same conclusion from the experience of the war. And even that part of public opinion in Germany which knows that the use of force causes at least as much suffering to themselves as to others, and that security based

upon law and a treaty and a sense of mutual advantage is better than the risks, dangers, and sufferings of a will to supreme power and efforts to obtain it, welcomes it genuinely though secretly as a safeguard for her future.

We have, then, to consider the nature of the democracies and those obstacles which at present lie in the path to its better realization, a realization prerequisite to the assumption of their rightful places in a League of enlightened nations seeking to establish a world order more righteous, more enduring, more auspicious than this earth has yet seen.

At present there are four principal obstacles in the way: autocracy, which is the same thing whether it proceeds from a monarch or from a minister who acts without the knowledge or approval of the people of his country; Bolshevism, which is an attempt to create an autocracy of the people who work with their hands as against the rest of the community; commercial rivalry, which is only an outgrowth of barbaric selfishness; and undiminished national sovereignty, which, in the present condition of the world, is an insistence that a part is greater than the whole.

Balance of powers has been tested and it failed. There was plenty of power but no balance when the crisis came. What we need now is a "balance of authority" by which all countries shall yield something of their present control over their relations with other countries, and in return shall get the splendid bargain of security from aggression, of a chance fully to develop their resources of things and men.

The first widespread evil causing temporary returns to primitive savagery is autocratic national executives who can swing the whole physical force of the nation

to this side or that without consulting the people or their representatives. So long as executives of this sort endure, so long will civilization be liable to such explosions as took place in August, 1914. It is well-known that secret diplomacy goes hand in hand with autocracy. Such hidden intrigue with power to make issues that secret negotiations, like those habitually conducted on behalf of the "Concert of Europe," and alliances between selected nations, the terms of which are secret, or, at any rate, not publicly stated, cannot avert in the long run outrageous war, but can only produce postponements of war, or short truces. Free institutions, like those of the United States, take the public into confidence, because all important movements of the Government must rest on popular desires, needs, and volitions. Autocratic institutions have no such necessity for publicity. This government secrecy as to motives, plans, and purposes must often be maintained by disregarding truth, fair dealing, and honorable obligations, in order that, when the appeal to force comes, one government may secure the advantage of taking the other by surprise. Duplicity during peace and the breaking of treaties during war come to be regarded as obvious military necessities.

Even republics, moreover, are not free from the danger inherent in the privilege of armament, for the lure of conquest may be dangled in a most attractive form before the eyes of the people. Power creates the temptation to use power. The existence of a large military class in a population tends to keep alive the spirit of war, and the spirit of war is only a few degrees removed from the militaristic spirit. A plan of disarmament, carefully worked out and carried out gradually, is therefore a logical step towards the

establishment of a genuine peace. Disarmament is the corollary to the recognition of the principle of tribunals of arbitration.

Bolshevism, the second great hindrance to a proper peace settlement, must be eradicated. The new order can have no room for this desire to wreck what others have built. Bolshevism is an ambition to tear down Civilization as we know it; a delusion that mankind ought to go backward instead of forward. In sum: The Bolshevists want to enjoy what others have produced. They want to keep all they themselves produce if any. They are not at all squeamish about methods, nor afraid of blood. How can we have peace and good-will with such theories.

Under modern industrial conditions it is conflicts springing from economic forces that are mainly responsible for war, forces that seek the ownership or control of other people's lands, territories, trade, resources, or the land and waterways which control such economic opportunities. This gives us our third important obstacle to the goal we aim at.

The recent war was due to so great a variety of different causes that it is a dangerous thing to isolate any one of them. But few persons with any knowledge of international relations during the last thirty years will deny that deep down in the origins of the great conflict the question of overseas possessions, of the control, economic or political, of Africa and Asia, played a very large part. There can be no peace in the world so long as the competitive and exclusive policy with regard to overseas possessions holds sway. Political control in Africa and Asia is very unequally divided between the Great Powers of the world. If that political control is used through protective tariffs,

concessions, and other exclusive privileges to exclude participation of other countries in the economic privileges and opportunities, the economic struggle will inevitably be transferred first to the field of diplomacy and finally to the field of battle. And it would be folly to imagine that this is a question merely between Germany and the Powers in control. If the policy of exclusiveness and competition continue, it will not be long before the financial, industrial, and commercial interests in America, Italy, and Japan are claiming their right to places in the sun—in fact, the recent history of Italy and Japan shows that the process has already started.

Says Carl H. Grabo in his analytic book *World Peace and After:* "Economic pressure and the thirst for conquest have made the frontiers of states as we know them today. Economic barriers of tariffs, government subsidies, and export duties keep alive the fiction that races and nations are more different than alike. And the belief in national destiny, the right of a 'superior' race to control the destinies of one deemed 'inferior,' and the trade rivalries of competing economic groups among nations, are still potent for future alliances, conquests, and wars, unless at this opportune moment for the establishment of a world order insuring peace, the root source of international hatreds is recognized and removed."

These underlying causes of war, commercial and economic, date a half a century back. Imperial Germany's desire for colonies in other continents was intense. Prussia's seizure of Schleswig in 1864–5 had the commercial motive; and it was with visions of ports on the North Sea that Germany justified her occupation of Belgium. Austria-Hungary long sought ports on

the Adriatic. She seized without warrant Herzegovina and Bosnia to promote her approach toward the Aegean, and tried to seize Servia with the same ends in view.

The fourth hurdle to overleap is the unwillingness of the nations to sacrifice a little of their independent sovereignty. History has shown us by the evolution of individuals into states that in order to gain greater strength through union the freedom of the units making up this union must be, in part, curtailed. Government in communities and states is the imperative compromise effected by individuals each desirous of doing many things the right to which he must surrender if he is to retain others. The surrender of liberties is the first requisite for the establishment of any government. The function of government is to make the surrender rest as lightly as possible upon the different units and to compensate for it by the grant of privileges which spring from the association of these units under wise guidance. Similarly must the various member-nations of the League concede certain hitherto sovereign privileges for the general betterment of the majority.

To deny the Powers the opportunity to join in a world concert would be to keep alive the conditions, mentioned above, which would sooner or later renew war on a great scale. Of course no such world combination can be made without giving up authority at some points—for instance, without partial disarmament and a limitation of military and naval forces by all concerned. On the other hand, "such an arrangement means a great increase of the power of the United States to make the principles of free government and peace prevail." (A. B. Hart in *Outlook* of Jan. 15, 1919).

The idea of a League has naturally not been allowed to grow up and flourish without being subjected to criticism, objections, and attacks. A curious and enlightening fact will very soon become apparent to anyone who reads the hostile critics with any detachment. Leaving on one side all those objections which are concerned with details of the various schemes, he will find that all the serious criticism centers about a single point. That point is the value of the League's guarantee.

Whether the League of Nations be formed or not, the world of states, its peace, stability, progress, and righteousness, will depend upon international treaties and agreements. And ultimately every agreement must depend upon the faith and the good faith of the parties to it. The ultimate guarantee of a League of Nations, as of any other future arrangement, must consist for us in our own good faith and our trust in the good faith of others. The whole question is a relative one, for it concerns our belief in the probability of obtaining conditions under which states will keep their promises. Now, in this sense it can be argued reasonably that a League will create conditions which did not exist before the war and which will increase the probability of international agreements being respected. In the first place, the treaty which establishes the League will create a permanent union of states for certain specific purposes of international cooperation. The agreement will not only specifically define the rights and obligations of the different states, but the measures to be taken to insure that the obligations are fulfilled. Now, incredible though it may appear to persons who are not intimately acquainted with the details of international history, these elementary guar-

antees never existed in the case of the most important international agreements. Even where several great states signed treaties upon which the peace of Europe obviously depended, their obligations have not been clearly defined. It is the rarest thing in the world to find any mention in a treaty of the steps to be taken to insure compliance with, or performance of, its terms.

The League of Nations does create and define a joint obligation, and therefore it may correctly be said to create a guarantee which did not exist before the war.

Thus the difference between the critic and the supporter of a League may be reduced to the difference between pessimism and optimism. The critic overwhelmed by the spectacle of international lawlessness and bad faith despairs over international law, and swears never again to trust to an international treaty. The other sees that the cure for lawlessness is not less law, but more law, that the cure for broken treaties is more and better treaties, and that the cure for bad faith is more faith.

Why the constitution of the League of Nations ought to be the first proposition in the peace conference should be obvious enough. Once certain principles of public law are established, the adjudication of all specific racial, territorial, economic, and military issues will follow easily and smoothly enough from them. The converse is not true. Let these issues be taken up severally and separately, without regard to an international rule, and the peace conference will become a bargain counter between dickering diplomats representing military forces. At best we shall have restored a precarious balance of power; at worst we shall resume fighting. If the peace conference be permitted to begin

at the wrong end of the series of problems, there is little hope for a good end to the conference.

What are the minimum obligations which the nations entering a free League will be willing to accept, but which will be sufficient to make the League effective for the purpose for which it is primarily created—the prevention of war? There are several plans offered, a few of which are similar in many respects.

Harry Allen Overstreet gives us his ideas in his recent speech "What a League of Nations Shall Be": "What is needed if decisions are to live and operate is an international adjusting body that will be continuously on the job. One that is not only permanent but small enough in size and with a sufficient breadth and flexibility of powers to make possible not only a constant alertness to changing international situations but an instant power of suggestion and mediation. The main lines of organization of a League of Nations are not difficult to trace. There is first the criterion of admission to the League. In this respect two radically different tendencies are noticeable among the plans proposed. There is, in the first place, the conviction that all states of the world should at once be freely admitted to membership in the League. There is, in the second place, the conviction that League membership should be restricted in the first instance to the Great Powers, and that other states should be admitted only as these Powers agree. There is much to be said for each plan. For the second, it may be argued that the leap from sheer independence of sovereignty of the large number of states, big and little, mature, and immature, of the world, to the immediate federation of the entire world is a very long leap indeed, which may quite easily prove disastrous. It may not be

an altogether unwise move, therefore, to take the first step towards the federation of the entire world by the effective leaguing together of those states which are sufficiently similar in standard and political ideals to make the League immediately workable. For the first proposal, it may be said, on the other hand, that any initial exclusion from membership tends to continue the old balance of power which proved so disastrous to the world in the past, besides alotting to the Great Powers a leadership that may easily become an injustice to the remaining states of the world. The problem involved here is a real one which demands careful thought."

Robert Goldsmith's platform is as follows: "Briefly, it is proposed that a League of Nations, including the United States, should be created. Such a League would not constitute an "entangling alliance," wherein one group of nations would combine to protect one another against an opposing group similarly united. An invitation to join the League would be extended to all civilized and progressive nations. A general treaty would be signed by the terms of which the member-nations would mutually agree to submit for public hearing any and all disputes whatever which might arise among them. To carry out the program it would become necessary to set up two international tribunals: a judicial Court for the purpose of hearing and deciding those questions that can be determined by the established and accepted rules of international law; and a Council of Conciliation for the purpose of composing by compromise all other questions which come up that, unless settled, would be likely to lead to war. The Court, after preliminary inquiry, would determine before which tribunal a given case should go. In the

event of any member-nation threatening war against any other member-nation, before first submitting its quarrel for public review and report, all the other nations who are members of the League would immediately join in bringing to bear both diplomatic and economic pressure to stop the would-be aggressor. If, after this joint protest, it persisted with overt acts of hostility and actually commenced war, then the other member-nations, with their combined military and naval forces, would come to the defence of the one attacked.

"This might require that each nation would have to pledge itself to provide and maintain its fair quota of the necessary military forces; but, on the other hand, it is confidently expected that the acceptance and operation of the program would result in the gradual reduction of armaments, if indeed a specific agreement to reduce armaments were not made one of the essential terms of the treaty creating the League of Nations. The forces of the League would be used for one purpose only: to compel submission of matters in dispute to a Court of Inquiry before any war was begun or persisted in by any member; they would not be employed to execute the judgments of the court or to enforce the unwilling acceptance of awards. The appeal to arms would still remain available to the several nations as a last resort."

Says Morris Jastrow in *The War and the Coming Peace:* "With power to carry out its regulations, such a parliament would obviously be a body primarily devoted to studying the causes of war. Its functions will necessarily lead to such a study. It will be able, by virtue of accumulated experience, shared in by all the nations represented, to detect dangers in time to

prevent their growing beyond control. Above all, an international representative body will be a powerful incentive in promoting the spirit of internationalism, in order to counteract the overemphasis on nationalism which we have seen to have been one of the causes that led to the moral downfall of so many of the intellectual leaders of Germany during the Great War."

"As against this larger scheme of a parliament or international body, sitting at regular periods, a more restricted scheme of a League of Nations, primarily and chiefly to enforce peace, commends itself to many wise minds as more in keeping with the present still undeveloped stage reached in the manifestation of the internationsl spirit. It is held that we have not yet advanced to the point when nations will be willing to sink their national interests to the extent that would be required by the establishment of a genuine and effective international parliament. The blending of interests, it is argued, may lead, at the present juncture of affairs, to the weakening of some nations and redound to the unequal advantage of others."

Ex-President Taft speaks in this wise: "The functions of the League may conveniently be divided into the legislative, the judicial, the mediating, and the executive. The congress of all the world powers, great and small, will consider and determine general principles of international law and policy for the guidance of the judicial and executive branches. In such a congress the nations should have representation in accord with their world inportance, measured by power, population, and responsible character. The judicial branch or court of the League should not be a representative body at all. It should be a tribunal made up of great international jurists, selected for their high

character, judicial and impartial bent of mind, their learning in jurisprudence and their ability. They should be permanent judges, made independent in tenure and compensation. Citizenship in countries parties to the controversy should disqualify members of the court in the particular case. They should have jurisdiction only to hear pure questions of law and fact. No political questions should come before them. They should interpret treaties and declare and apply the international law as now established or as qualified and enacted by the congress of powers. Of course to give confidence in its broad view of world law, care should be taken to select judges from different countries with different systems of law, and thus give the tribunal a world character. The commission of conciliation, which is a negotiating, mediating body, should have the representative feature. The small nations are too many to have constant members of it; but every nation having a real interest in the issue to be settled should be represented on it for the time being, and its representative should take part in the mediation, hearing and recommendation of settlement. In its practical working the great powers will furnish the police force of the League and their representatives should exercise the executive function. The safety and security of the lesser nations who cannot be expected to share the burden of military contribution will be found in the judgments of the impartial international court, in the recommendation of the commission of conciliation and in the principles of international justice ordained in a congress of world nations."

"In regard to differences," says C. R. Van Hise in his book, *A League of Nations*, "between states members of the League and states not members of the League,

the League of Nations should be free to follow precisely the same procedure as if both nations were members of the League, and whether or not the nation outside of the League requested it, should take steps for the investigation of differences and the making of recommendations. If the nation outside the League attacked a nation within the League before the case was investigated and recommendations made or contrary to the recommendation, then, again, the nations of the League should be free to support their ally with their armies and navies and should be bound to support their ally by complete boycott of the offending state. In case of a controversy between two nations altogether outside of the League, probably it is not wise to propose that the League should do more than tender its good offices to settle the difference which threatens war, precisely as if the two states were members of the League. This offer might not always be accepted, but if it were accepted by one state and not accepted by the other, it is inevitable that the state that was attacked contrary to the recommendation would have at least the moral support and influence of the nations of the League, and no war has ever illustrated the mighty power of moral support as has the recent war."

Theodore Marburg speaks for the League to Enforce Peace: "First: All justiciable questions arising between the signatory Powers, not settled by negotiation, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question. Second: All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled between negotiators, shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration and recommendation.

Third: The signatory Powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against anyone of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing. Fourth: Conferences between the signatory Powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall hereafter govern in the decisions of the Judicial Tribunal mentioned in Article I."

We have further support in the words of Carl Grabo, who has already been mentioned: "If the ideals of democracy are increasingly to determine the relations of states and nations one with another, something in the nature of an international court to which the smaller peoples may appeal for justice against the aggressions of more powerful nations is a first requisite. The Hague Court was a tentative essay in this direction but was of small practical value by reason of its powerlessness to enforce decisions. The League to Enforce Peace, which seems a likelihood, bears in its very name better promise of success. Regrettable though it may be, force is still essential to the maintenance of law and order in society, both in the state and in the realm of international affairs. The time has not yet come to dispense with it. But the time has certainly come when force should be made subservient to justice and no longer be the weapon of national ambition over-riding the wishes and rights of weaker peoples. If the nations are regarded for what they are, merely families of the world clan, or individual members of a single family, there is nothing startling in the conception of a court established by common consent."

H. G. Wells sums it all up, to my mind, tersely and correctly: "Roughly one may arrange the League-of-Nations proposals, as they are to be encountered at the present time, into a series between two extremes. On the extreme left is what is practically a mere rehabilitation of the Hague Tribunal. It is a timid scheme for delay and arbitration; some sort of international conference is to meet occasionally; there are to be a supreme court and a court of conciliation, the former to try disputes upon points of international law, the latter to discuss nonjusticiable differences. No interference with the political constitution or internal arrangements of any state is contemplated; no organized disarmament and control of militarism can therefore occur. This is a proposal for a weak League of Nations. What most sensible people desire is either a strong League of Nations or no League of Nations at all. Instead of being a mere delaying intervention and remonstrance, upon the eve of war, of a respectable but powerless assembly of jurists, it must be a project for a world control of the preparation for war and for a world anticipation of its causes. If the League of Nations is to be a reality in the days to come it must have sufficient authority and power to inquire into, restrain and suppress, armaments on land and sea.

"A League of Nations provides an instrument and a basis for international cooperation which did not exist under pre-war diplomatic conditions. International relations in the last century were continually jeopardized by the absence of an adequate guarantee for international agreements and of a center for the unification and co-ordination of international action. By constituting the League the world would for the first time have taken a real step towards supplying

these deficiencies. Certain particular instances of a political and economic nature must be considered. One of the most important of these is the economic right of way.

"The result of the revolution in industry and means of communication in the last century was that today there is hardly a single question of international importance which is not complicated seriously by economic consideration. The economic lines of communication, whether on land or sea, have become increasingly vital to the material existence of the majority of states. After all, the War itself showed this with appalling clearness, for whereas the strategy of previous wars was directed mainly to the cutting of military lines of communication, the recent combatants entered into a bitter struggle to cut the economic lines. How widespread and how dangerous for the world's peace and progress these questions are, may be shown by some examples. The matter has forced itself upon the attention of statesmen in many different parts of the world, but particularly upon the Danube, the Scheldt, the Rhine, the Vistula, and the Congo. In fact, the last century saw the principle of an economic right of way on navigable rivers established for a particular case by the Treaty of Vienna, and gradually extended to nearly all the navigable rivers of the world. The control of narrow straits or of inter-oceanic canals produces cases of precisely the same nature as that of navigable rivers. Thus the question of Constantinople derives its international importance from the fact that the political control of the Straits vitally affects the economic communications of Russia and Roumania.

"Railway communications produce international problems of the same nature. The whole Balkan

question has been complicated and embittered by conflicting attempts to bar and to open economic rights of way. This was most obvious, perhaps, in the relations of Austria and Serbia.

"These conditions have in the past been among the most prolific causes of hostility. And as the world becomes more and more completely industrialized, so will these questions of economic communications become more and more vital and dangerous. There can beno peace in the world if half the nations live in fear of the arteries of their commerce being cut or obstructed, while the other half are occupied with plotting and planning to cut and obstruct them."

The same writer concludes: "Moreover as the case of Poland will show, as long as this problem remains unsolved, it is impossible to reconstruct Europe politically and nationally on a just or sound basis. The whole problem can, of course, only be solved if cooperation takes the place of hostility and rivalry in international relations. But in conditions so complex as those of international relations, cooperation will never persist unless the broad principles of international action are definitely formulated and means of putting the principles into action are consciously provided. A League of Nations alone would provide such means."

But, perhaps the greatest difference in principle among the plans for a world League is upon the question whether physical force or moral force is to be employed as a sanction. And yet it would seem that all would admit that force may be legitimately employed in restraint or correction. For example, in ordinary social life, force is illegitimately employed when it is used for personal ends, as when a man strikes another

in wrath or hatred, or to secure for himself the other's possessions. When, on the other hand, a policeman forcibly restrains a would-be murderer or thief, force, being employed and through the arm of the state, is wholly legitimate. In the same manner, group force is illegitimately employed when a nation, for its own interests of conquest or glory, makes war upon another nation. On the other hand, when a group of nations, pledged to support an international agreement made for the welfare of all, restrains or chastises a rebellious state, force is legitimate because impersonally or disinterestedly employed.

So much for the structure of the international state. But a structure without foundations is a shaky affair. What of the underlying principles?

In the first place there is overwhelming agreement as to the necessity for Open Diplomacy. "Parliamentary control of foreign policy . . . so that secret treaties and secret diplomacy may no longer endanger the most vital interests of the nation" (Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation). "Secret treaties shall be void" (Central Organization for a Durable Peace). "Diplomacy in all nations must be put under the control of parliaments and public opinion" (International Bureau of Peace). "Foreign politics shall be subject to democratic control" (International Congress of Women). "Abolition of secret diplomacy" (Conferences of Socialists) and so on. Such are the phrases used to express the one overwhelming conviction that the old diplomacy of hidden bargains, of suspicions and dreads and surprises, of lyings and cheatings must be completely eliminated from a decently organized world society of nations.

In the second place there is practically equal agreement upon the principle that no transfer of territory shall take place without the consent of the population involved and that nations shall have the right to decide their own fate (Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation). The Australian Peace Alliance expresses it in the words: "No province or territory in any part of the world shall be transferred from one government to another without the consent by plebiscite of the population of such province." The Federation of British Peace Societies: "No territorial change without consent of the population involved." So also a host of others. The principle of No Conquest therefore is the second principle which has emerged out of the uncertainties and confusions of earlier thought into the clarity of a world conviction.

In the third place, there is a concerted voice calling for a sincere attempt at reduction of armaments. "Armaments must be reduced according to general agreement and placed under international control" (International Bureau of Peace). "Considerable reduction of armies and application of war budgets to education, etc." (Union of Int. Associations, Brussels). The agreement is, again, overwhelming that no future world organization can be contemplated that does not take effective steps to root out the war-breeding evil of armaments.

In the fourth place there is a large agreement for Commercial Freedom. Whether this takes the form of a demand for the removal of tariffs, for neutralization of the seas, or for freedom of investment opportunities in foreign lands, or for all of them, it is an indication that the world has become instructed, as it never has been before, upon the war breeding quality of all

hindrances to the free movement of legitimate economic enterprise.

Open Diplomacy, No Conquest, Reduction of Armaments, Commercial Freedom—these apparently are to be the four bed-rock principles upon which the new international order is to be built.

And now let us ask ourselves what it all means. These underlying principles are but the expressions of American ideals. The "14" points are repeated time and time again, perhaps in different words, but they are always there. The spirit of Democracy rules over everything. It was shown that the source of greatest danger lies in the concentration of power within a group holding an entire nation in control, and that the danger is far less when the power is conferred on a group by the freely expressed will of the people. The moral issue of the Great War arose from the circumstance that the power in Germany was wielded by a group that did not receive its mandate from the people but which had inherited its position from an autocratic form of government that had never been abolished but only modified to some degree under pressure exerted by popular opposition to it. Political intrigues, secret diplomacy, the spy system, insidious propaganda, all arise as a logical outgrowth of a government carried on under a non-democratic form. Having regard, therefore, to the establishment of conditions that may make for enduring peace, we may set down as the primary one the necessity of the same general basis of a democratic form of government for all nations. Such a form is the only one consistent with the spirit of the age and with the stage of political development, reached in the course of a century and more after the principle of popular government was

first proclaimed in definite terms by the American Declaration of Independence.

Again our President's words stand out with clearness: "A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a League of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own."

More briefly, Wilson says: "What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

"The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

"No special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

"There can be no League or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League.

"There can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of boycott or exclusion except as the power of

economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

"All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world."

We have here also a voice from the grave, so to speak. The following is the advice given us by the American of Americans, Theodore Roosevelt: "From the international standpoint the essential thing to do is effectively to put the combined power of civilization back of the collective purpose of civilization to secure justice. This can be achieved only by a world League for the peace of righteousness, which would guarantee to enforce by the combined strength of all the nations the decrees of a competent and impartial court against any recalcitrant and offending nation. Only in this way will treaties become serious documents."

As an appropriate summary we have the wonderful lines by Austin Harrison in his *A World Declaration of Human Rights:* "National purposes have fallen more and more into the background, and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place. This indicates the moving spirit of the new international principle, which seeks nationally and internationally to provide securities for civilization against war. It is the finest expression of democracy, by which we understand opportunity and progress. It means that the present peace settlement rests on the novel issue of morality. For this great end America went into the War, and this is the meaning of the League of Nations. Mr. Wilson speaks in the voice of construction, not of destruction. It is the truth of deliverance: from the

fetters of feudalism; from the old European order of balance of power; from the old time peace of imposition and expropriation; from the militarism of the map. The appeal is to the common sanction of mankind. Europe has known no ethic of international relations. Only force values have dominated. Hitherto international morality has been but the dream of a few idealogues. Napoleonism ended on a power value, its reaction was the "blood and iron" statesmanship of Bismarck. The light of a new wisdom is dawning, to emerge perhaps as the strangest phenomenon of our time and civilization.

"The claim of power sovereignty is to give way to an ethic or governing principle of human relationship. In the place of diplomacy acting in secrecy for purely selfish or national motives, Europe is bidden to the forum of publicity, bidden to regard the opportunity of the whole, bidden to the law of a commonwealth. As President Wilson has said, this morality can only come into being when the Peace Conference accepts as the settled law of civilization the principles which are to govern the constitution of the League of Nations. The task is to rebuild Europe on a basis of racial and economic freedom; to give to the parts the values and opportunities of the whole."

During the period of reconstruction the one force to be looked to for the prevention of possible internal wars in the various nations—wars which if they came would be far bloodier and more heartrending than the recent war, because between brothers—is the spirit of Brotherhood. If that spirit shall prevail—influencing as it must and will those who are conservative in their views, to consider the vital questions of the day from all sides, and likewise influencing those who are radical to realize

that time is a great force in changing most things, that patience must be called into play and that the progress which is slow is surer than that which is precipitate, then and then only can we expect this critical period to be lived through, and the momentous questions which it will bring satisfactorily adjusted, without further bloodshed and suffering.

Here, then, we have some of the main foundations on which peace can be established—the organization of all nations on a democratic form of government as the primary condition, and then tribunals of arbitration, disarmament, and an assembly of nations in the form of a League or parliament. Peace established on the recognition of such principles would be a genuine one, and not simply an armistice. Peace treaties guided by these principles must be reasonably safe from the danger of planting the seeds for future wars. It means " . . . the enthronment of right against might; and this will be followed, as surely as the day follows the night, by the dawn of a new era of light and peace for the entire world."

To close, what finer words can be said than these:—"The Creation was a larger event than the Great War. The Creation was only a beginning. The war, too, is but a prelude. No chapter of life closes but another one opens. What the war ended is less important now than the work which at once begins. In war was laid the foundation, toilsomely constructed, in tears and sacrifice and heroism and heartaches; in peace the enduring edifice is to be raised; our task. To conceive that these four years of agony bid us do nothing more than behold our dead, would be to deny that just Providence which guides, in lofty benevolence, the destiny of men. It is our sovereign opportunity

brought, miraculous, to live this eager hour. We need be watchful, fervently watchful; we need be thoughtful with a careful solicitude to look behind as well as up; we need be patient, with sane and understanding sympathy; we need be courageous, with a vigorous, tireless courage; and we need be honest, self-honest, with an honesty greater than a zealot's devotion to a cause, an all-embracing honesty which never lacks the sweetness which is the oil of kindness in the human heart. All that long time of misery was only, then, the preparation. It passes, and with it many things of life that are well lost. The real task is now; to live, to view all roads, and fairly choose the right one. The hour of impending great adventure aches for interpretation. Ours is a task, privileged and not to be avoided. It is the task laid on us by those who passed on, unselfish, in the van of victory; their solemn adjuration. This is the torch they lit for us to snatch and, bearing it preciously aloft, to light the road. This is the torch, and this the spirit which, restless, hovers on scarlet poppies soon to be all a-blow over those dead who sleep, in peace, in Flanders' Fields, a grateful benediction."

And so may it soon come true, that

"Suddenly one day
The last ill shall fall away,
The last little beastliness that is in our blood
Shall drop from us as the sheath drops from the bud.
And the great spirit of man shall struggle through
And spread huge branches underneath the blue.
In any mirror, be it bright or dim,
Man will see God staring back at him."

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OLD VETERANS' STORIES

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THE OLD MAN'S COURTSHIP

BY BERNARD B. WHITTIER

"WELL, I guess my daughter's goin' to get married after all," said Mr. Ponsonby.

"Is that so?" said Mr. Scott, leaning back against the porch post and putting his pipe back in his mouth for a few puffs. "Sit down and make yourself comfortable. Seems to me them kids have been having quite a time of it, haven't they?"

"Well, I guess they have!" ejaculated Mr. Ponsonby. "That air kid ain't got brains enough to catch a man, I do believe. It's a wonder young Morgan has stood for her nonsense as he has. Why, d'ye know, he gin her a gold plated bracelet and she up an' let that Miss Horner wear it to the school party. O' course she wa'n't able to go to that, not bein' a member o' the school nor nothin', but Cy Morgan could, bein' on the school board, an' o' course he recognized that air bracelet right off first thing. That made a fuss

between the kids, but they patched it over somehows, an' now they've set next Monday night as the weddin' date. I jest come over to invite you an' your woman to the doin's, if Sary don't up an' spoil it all some way 'tween now an' then."

"Yes," said Mr. Scott, contemplatively puffing on the old cob pipe, "they have had quite some courtship out of it, off and on. Did I ever tell you about mine?"

"No, Henry, you didn't," said Mr. Ponsonby. "I've often wondered, too, how an' old Canuck thistle like you ever got such a woman as that'n o'yours."

"Well, I've wondered a good many times myself," said Mr. Scott. "I guess maybe it was more pity than anything else. Anyway, that's the easiest way to account for it.

"I guess I've told you before that I first enlisted in the old First Michigan Lancers, in company E, soon after the outbreak of the war, in November, '61, it was. Well, we didn't do much of anything but sit around and drill, and a little guard duty in Detroit, where our headquarters were. We never were called for active service, and in March, '62, we got a General Order from Washington mustering us out, on the grounds that no more cavalry was needed. Somebody made a blunder, evidently, for the war had only just begun.

"Well, to make a long story short, it was too much for me to sit around doing nothing during such a war, even with a sweetheart to make it interesting. So I up and volunteered again, in August, going into company A, the 23rd Michigan Infantry. About the last thing I did before I left was to call on Mary, and get a picture of her. You know what the pictures were in those days, old fashioned daguerreotypes. Well, she

gave me one of hers, and I gave her one of mine, in a sweet moonlight scene, and she made me promise to always be brave and to guard that picture well, and to carry it in my knapsack where the bullets could not get to it. She didn't allow for a fellow suddenly seeking a stump to lodge behind, you see.

"Well, everything went well for a year and a half, and I hadn't done anything worse to that picture than to nearly wear it out in my knapsack. We had written each other pretty regularly, and I guess I had made quite a hero out of myself in my letters, for she kept prodding me to tell her all the rest of the brave things I had done, saying all the girls up there were crazy over her brave sweetheart. I was easy in those days, and I fell for most of it, too.

"But then one fine May day things changed, and what didn't get done to that old daguerreotype wouldn't be worth the doing. It was in my knapsack, too, just where she had told me to keep it. What's more, I had it carefully folded into my pup tent, which I had in my knapsack, so as to keep it from getting bent. This was at the battle at Resaca, Georgia, while we were trying to push Johnston's army across the Oostenaula River. We did it the next day, but the rascals burned the bridge after them. It was on May 14, '64, that I finished that daguerreotype.

"Things had been getting pretty warm, when I got a gunshot wound in my left leg, and while I was trying to get behind a stump to attend to it I was hit again in my right side, and was nearly knocked over by three bullets going through my knapsack. I suppose they would have gone through me if the knapsack hadn't been there.

"Well, my wounds were serious enough to take me off the field, though they did not put me out for keeps, but the fun came when I took off my knapsack to get my pup tent to roll in. As I said, there were three holes in the knapsack; but when I got that pup tent out and unrolled it, there were only 42 holes in it! and that daguerreotype! One of the bullets had clean knocked that poor picture into Kingdom Come!

"Of course I had to write to Mary about being wounded, and I made much of it, I suppose, but I carefully didn't say anything about that picture. However, she came right back and wanted to know if I had defended that picture carefully. I was completely stumped for a while, but I finally made much of how it had saved my life, and all that sort of thing; but of course she saw through it, and of all the kidding you ever heard, I got it. You know yourself she can say things about as pointed as a pin, when she wants to.

"But then, it was all in the game, I suppose; but what gave her talking point was that I was hit three times in the back while I was getting that game leg behind a stump."

"You bet," said Mr. Ponsonby. "They'll take the advantage of a feller if he just gives 'em a chance. That's what Sary's been doin' to young Morgan, only I been afraid she'd do it once too much. He's a good catch for a kid o' mine."

"Yes," said Mr. Scott, "but lovers will stand for a lot of foolishness, I guess. It's the foolish age, and it's a good thing they have sense enough to realize it."

—From the experience of Robert Anderson, Co. A, 23rd Mich. Vol. Inft., Battle of Resaca, Ga., May 14, 1864. Courtesy of Erford A. Martin

ON TO VICKSBURG

CONTRIBUTED BY ADDISON S. BOYCE

JUNE 2:—This morning we were under marching orders. The orders were to pack everything except tent cloths and blankets, draw eight days rations and carry three in haversack and five in one-half of knapsack. Where we were going to need eight days' rations we were unable to say. The commander knows that not one boy in ten carries a knapsack and would not carry eight days' rations in it if he did.

The night of the third came the order, "Reveille at 3:30 o'clock, strike tents at 4, and march at 5 a. m." If you were ever a soldier you will know about how we felt. Promptly on time the next morning the head of the column moved off towards Lebanon (Ky.). Some of the boys sang out from the ranks, "Send an orderly ahead and have that column countermarched, for there is no enemy in that direction." But still they kept straight ahead. Soon after the order came, "By the right flank into column, march." Now the mystery began to deepen as to our destination, but it was apparent that it was something more than an ordinary move, for the marching orders were very strict.

Word was passed down the line from company to company, "No detours on account of mud;" "Keep your ranks well closed up, no falling out will be allowed." Col. Smith and Maj. Cutcheons were just as ignorant as any private on the subject. We thought that if we turned to the left when we reached the turnpike,

Nashville was our destination, if to the right then we should have to wait and see.

On the fifth we marched twenty-two miles and went into camp for supper. An orderly was sent to each regiment with the question, "We have twenty-eight miles to make by noon tomorrow; shall we make eight miles more tonight, or the twenty-eight miles from 4 a. m. till noon tomorrow?" The answer was, "Four o'clock tomorrow morning." So we bivouaced for the night.

On the sixth, reveille blew at 3 a. m., and we began marching at 4 a. m. It was a delightfully cool morning for the work we had before us. At 11:50 we halted by the side of the railroad track at Lebanon, and were ordered to prepare our dinner. Several long trains of cars were standing there waiting for us. The balance of the division arrived during the afternoon. Toward night we went on board the cars and ran up to Louisville during the night.

The next morning we crossed the Ohio River from Jeffersonville, Ind. It was now stated that we were to take the cars there for Cairo, Ill. If so, Vicksburg was our destination. We loaded into the cars on the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, and went to Centralia, Ill., where we changed cars to the Illinois Central for Cairo.

While we were changing cars at Centralia a trainload of rebel prisoners passed up the Illinois Central en route from Vicksburg to Chicago, but that was not the best thing we saw while there. It being Sunday, the citizens turned out *en masse* and gave us a splendid dinner and we were served in true style by the ladies of the city.

A young lady gave me a bouquet, with the request that I carry it into Vicksburg, should I go there. While we were changing cars on our return from Vicksburg, this same girl hunted me up to learn the fate of her flowers. When I assured her that I did carry them to Vicksburg, she was much pleased, and invited me to dine with her, which I regretted very much that I was unable to do. This passing through a country where the people were so like ourselves made us feel almost homesick.

At Cairo there were ten or twelve large transports and two gunboats lying ready to receive us and take us down the river. We left Cairo the morning of the eighth. The 2d and 20th Michigan were on the U. S. transport Nebraska. Altogether there were about one thousand men besides all horses and baggage of the two regiments on board the boat, which made it rather crowded. The regimental drum major left us at Cairo, sick. I was detailed as acting drum major. The drum corps and the color guard had the stateroom at the rear of the left hand wheel house, which gave us the best side of the boat. Our general course was south, and it gave us more shade.

On the tenth we passed Fort Pillow, famous for the great massacre of colored troops. The banks of the river the greater part of the way were low and apparently swampy, but occasionally we came to a high bluff which was invariably crowned at some point by a battery of heavy guns pointing at us as much as to say, "Halt!" We arrived at Memphis at noon, and spent the afternoon looking over the city.

We were still going down the river on the 13th, but were ordered to keep a sharp lookout for rebel batteries. We expected an attack from the left bank

and sure enough the first warning was a white puff of smoke and two twelve pound shot came crashing through the rigging, accompanied by a volley of musketry which was promptly answered by every gun on our side of the boat. One of the gun boats which were our convoy was soon on the ground and opened fire. The rebels gave us one more volley and then ran. A little later they gave us two more shots but did not do any damage.

We arrived at and landed four miles above Vicksburg about 8 a. m. the 14th, in plain view of the city. The "Mortar Fleet" lay about one and a half miles below us, and kept firing at the city night and day. In the fleet were two sixty-four pounders and one one-hundred-and-twenty pounder. These three guns were expected to throw a shell every ten minutes. They fired at an elevation of about 45 degrees, making a graceful curve until it struck in or burst over the city. To us lying in the rear of the guns it was a beautiful sight.

On June 16 we moved across the neck of land to the river below Vicksburg; then we commenced ferrying across to the Mississippi side, but the order was soon countermanded, and we were ordered to remain where we were until further orders. Just in the river where our regiment lay there was one of the sunken barges disabled from running the batteries at Vicksburg. It was loaded with hay and oats around which the cat-fish collected.

Our boys hunted up fish hooks and the fun commenced. A large number of fish weighing from ten to sixty pounds or more were caught. I succeeded in capturing one weighing about fifteen pounds, and without waiting for a better haul turned my hook over

to another and proceeded to skin him (the fish) for dinner.

Several of the boys had been trying in various ways, by scalding, scraping, etc., to prepare their fish for cooking. When they saw me hang my fish up by the nose to a sappling and commence to skin him, they laughed, saying I was pretty good at skinning a hog but that I had got my match on a cat-fish. Nevertheless, I proceeded with my task and soon had the old fellow as cleanly skinned as an eel, and then sliced him up into great, nice steaks and soon had him in the frying pan with a piece of bacon.

The savory odor of a frying fish soon drew a crowd, and I could scarcely get time to taste the toothsome qualities of my catch, as every one seemed determined I should dress one for him. After dinner I dressed one for Col. Smith and one for Capt. Dewey. I then told the boys that I had not been detailed "regimental fish skinner," and that they must learn their own trade.—*From the diary of Addison S. Boyce, Co. A, 20th Mich. Vol. Inft., June 2 to 16, 1863.*

A TAME EXPERIENCE

CONTRIBUTED BY EDWIN R. HAVENS

PERHAPS I may be pardoned for relating an instance showing that I was never cut out for any of the thrilling experiences which did fall to many of our men. It sometimes happened that when small parties visited farm houses they were met by guerrillas, fired upon

and killed or wounded, the guerrillas being located in the houses visited. Soon after the command returned to Virginia after Gettysburg, and on one of the many scouting expeditions that we engaged in, I was commanded to take the greater portion of my company and proceed, after midnight, to a certain farm and get a colored man, a slave, to guide the command through a pass in the mountains south of Thoroughfare Gap, which pass none of the command knew. I found that the farm buildings were set back from the road a quarter to one-half mile, surrounded by orchards and groves and that to reach them we had to pass over open fields for quite a distance.

The night was still and clear, and the moon shone brightly so that objects were visible for a long distance and easily recognized for what they were. Visions of guerrillas harbored in the buildings, prospects of a terrible struggle in which some of my party should be killed or wounded, ran riot in my mind and I "wished I was home in father's barn so that I could go in the house." But no such good luck was possible, so putting on my best behavior, as I neared the grove and buildings I deployed my men so that we surrounded the place and gradually drew in until we found ourselves immediately surrounding the buildings. In the meantime we had discovered a horse tied to a tree near the dwelling, and then I was positively certain that some guerrilla was stopping there for the night. But we were there and it would not do for me to show the white feather, so calling two of my best men to my side and asking them to keep their eyes on the door of the house and to shoot at any hostile demonstration, I dismounted and crouching my way through the moonlight until under the shadow of the building I

"backed up to the door" and with the hilt of my sabre rapped vigorously.

Immediately a window over my head was thrown open and the question was asked as to who we were and what we wanted. I replied stating who we were and that we wanted the Negro we were sent after and the purpose for which we wanted him. "All right," said the voice, "He is in that cabin there. I will be down in a minute and help him get ready to go." We found that the horse tied to the tree was the family saddle horse and the only one left on the place, but he was soon saddled, the master and mistress helping to get their man ready, providing him with eatables for the trip and wishing us success. I do not know whether this man ever returned to this home with the horse or not, but doubt his doing so.—*Sergt. Co. A, and Lieut. Co. I, 7th Mich. Vol. Cav. Experience during summer of 1863. Courtesy Miss Edna Havens and Miss Gertrude E. Mevis.*

RED CLOUD AND DEW DROP

By Flavius J. Littlejohn

(An unpublished romance of the Saginaws)

NO FACT is more familiar to persons versed in the native management of tribal affairs, than that sharp contests were wont to arise out of border-line difficulties. Those boundaries were often irregular, being made to conform to the watershed crest between the sources of rivulets and creeks running in opposite directions and emptying into different rivers. Bands of hunters on the track of game and in the eagerness of the chase were not apt to heed any such limit to their range.

Hence if bands of two adjacent tribes happened to be in the vicinity of the trespass, if a collision did not occur on the spot, complaints were sure to be lodged with the chiefs. If blood was shed in a hasty affray, each band was sure to justify itself at home. The tribes were uniformly jealous of their rights and prone to regard all territorial aggressions as a stain upon their honor and a dire affront to the tribe.

Under the untoward circumstances negotiation was found difficult and the practical solution of these and all kindred troubles was usually sought upon the war-path, where after a few skirmishing engagements, the tribal honor being duly vindicated, the affair was generally ended by resort to negotiation and a hollow truce.

The practice of exacting hostages for the performance of treaty stipulations was quite common among

the various tribes. The children of chiefs were often thus pledged, and instances occurred of quite a lengthy restraint of liberty, although it was regarded as an honorable species of captivity. Generally, however, the hostages either managed to escape or were spirited away by their friends.

Among the outlaws and renegades, the practice of kidnapping native children was by no means uncommon. The reasons prompting to the act were twofold. The most usual one was to gratify a spirit of revenge. The other was purely mercenary, and for the purpose of exacting a ransom for their surrender and return. For the safe and successful accomplishment of the latter, resort was had to artful schemes and the frequent use of what are often in common parlance termed middlemen. When abducted for purposes of revenge, the condition of the helpless captives was often most deplorable.

To those of our readers who may have chanced to peruse our earlier legends of "The Saginaw Maidens of 1804," and of "The last Raid of the Renegades in 1805," several prominent characters in our present sketch will prove familiar personages. Our description of the scenery of the Saginaw Basin, with its noble bay and principal rivers will also be readily recalled.

In the hands of an enterprising and thrifty population of the white race, the development of its many natural resources and the fruits of industrial production in the entire region have bordered closely upon the marvellous.

But as our story antedates all such developments and artificial improvements, so the reader must be content with the region in its wilderness state and

subject to the shifting occupation of its former roaming denizens of aboriginal descent. For the more easy perusal of our present story to all our readers we will give a brief synopsis of that tribal occupation, naming some of the ruling chiefs, with the native designation of their villages, tribal bands and principal rivers at the opening period of the last century.

For about the distance of thirty miles inland from the southwestern extremity of the bay, the principal river in common with the latter magnificient sheet of water bore the name of Saginaw. At that distance up in the interior a fine large tributary rolls in from the west, then as now, known as the Tittabawassee. A short distance further up stream a second affluent comes in from the opposite direction, known to our moderns as Cass River, but then called by the natives Wakishegan.

A few miles above the junction of the last named river a third tributary is added with a main course from the southeast. This stream was called by the aborigines Peonigowink, but is known to moderns by the name of Flint River. From the junction of the lowest tributary we have named upward to its source, the main stream has ever borne its native appellation of the Shiawassee.

In 1804 a band of natives, both warlike and somewhat numerous, occupied the adjacent uplands as well as the valley ranges of the Peonigowink with its various affluents. They were Chippewas by descent, and in that year the youthful Neome became their chief. At that period the natives occupying the region north of them and drained by the Wakishegan were also of the old Chippewa stock but of a distinct tribal descent. Late in the year last named the latter band elected

Tonedoganee as their chief. Collectively the people of the former band were termed Pewanigos, whilst those on the latter river were called Wakishos.

At the same era an equally numerous and spirited band were in full possession of lowland and upland in all the region of the Shiawassee with its branches. This band were said to be of Huron extraction. They probably had their remote origin in the red Huron stock of Canada West. They were familiarly termed Shiwassos, and in 1804, Chessaning, a young man, was duly elected as their chief.

North of them on the west side of the Saginaw River the region of the Tittabawassee was occupied by Hurons also, but they were of no near affinity with the Shiwassos. At our opening period their chief was a man of middle age who had ruled over them for many years. He was a chief of great activity and possessed a fair ability, but of hasty temper and haughty mien. His tribal designation was Gray Eagle. His people for some unknown reason came to be generally termed Wassenings.

In the year 1804 Mokishenoqua, then the maiden ruler on the Wakishegan River, rescued Onwanamache, the sister of Chessaning, chief of the Shiwassos, out of the hands of a pair of renegades, the one a paleface and the other a native, who were both outlaws and had long consorted together. They had forcibly abducted the maiden from her brother's family lodge at Omagansee on the Shiawassee, and had concealed her in a grotto far up the Wakishegan.

Being caught in the act and captured, they were condemned by their maiden captor to perpetual banishment, after running the gauntlet between lines of a hundred braves with scourges in their hands. It was

to them a terribly damaging operation. They left the region bearing many marks of that severe castigation, and with deep-breathed threats of a future revenge.

Alarmed by that condign punishment, many other renegades hastily departed from the region, and the two thus roughly handled, and whilst thus lacerated and bleeding, fled away without daring to return. After the lapse of a few months their special inducement to revisit that river ceased to operate, for Mokishenoqua had become the bride of Chessaning, and removed to his capitol of Omagansee.

In their ignominous flight from the Wakishegan by canoe, the two renegades drifted down to the mouth of the Tittabawassee, the next tributary below. Up that stream they drove their canoe far towards its source to hide their shame. There they harbored for years in the vicinity of a small native settlement. From those natives who made frequent visits to the mouth of their river the two recluses soon heard of the marriage and removal of the special object of their hatred, Mokishenoqua.

During the very next year Neome of the Pewanigos, Chessaning of the Shiwassos, and Okemos of the Ottawas on Grand River, entered into a triple league for the extermination of all the renegades and outlaws harboring in their respective domains. That effort had proved eminently successful. The terrible slaughter of the miscreants and felons by those three chiefs struck terror to the hearts of all of their base calling and depraved lives, over on the Tittabawassee and other rivers not yet liberated from their pestilent presence.

With a lively remembrance of that gauntlet race for life in which they had been all but flayed alive, those

two unmitigated vagabonds in their present security concluded to postpone their revenge for the time being, but vowed never to forego a final terrible retaliation. The region they chanced to select for a hiding place was swampy, with intervening abrupt elevations and ridges. The streams were numerous, with stretches of level marginal depressions and miles of sluggish current flow.

At that early era it was a famous region for furs. The muskrat, the mink, the beaver and the otter abounded in the low grounds, with the black and silver fox, the lynx, the bear, the wolf, and the feline family frequenting the uplands, thickets and timber glades. In 1810, the year of our story, our two villanous outlaws had spent six years of comparative quiet in that secluded region, but had met with marked success in trapping. They made their sales and slender purchases at Wassebeewing, midway of the main stream; and there by inquiry they kept track of Chessaning and his wife, and knew that they were flourishing, and rearing children of their own.

Their purpose of revenge upon that woman seemed to strengthen by delay and to increase in fervor by the very impediments and difficulties in the way of its fulfillment.

Meantime the object of all that malignant hatred and cherished wrath had during those six years been eminently healthy, happy and prosperous. She was idolized by the chief, her husband. She was beloved in her household and highly esteemed and respected by her adopted people. Onwanamache, the gifted and beautiful sister of Chessaning, whom she had rescued and saved, was also the happy wife of Neome, chief of the Pewanigos. Between the two a fond inti--

macy subsisted and a sisterly regard was kept warmly alive by frequent visits.

The early promise of our heroic maiden of 1804 was in 1810 more than realized in the full development of rounded and ripened womanhood. Her youthful step, so elastic and buoyant, had been toned down to the more dignified movement of the matron. Still her fine attitudes, classic profile, flashing eye, polished brow with the exuberant growth and extra length of her black lustrous hair, now proclaimed her the gifted, charming woman.

She was the mother of two children, a son and daughter, twin born, and now of the age of five years. They were glorious children of their type and race. They were perfect in physical form and natural faculties. They were sprightly, supple and active in all their movements and blest with sunny temperaments and exuberant spirits.

To some of their mother's endowments we have alluded. Chessaning, their father, was a model of fine ripened manhood. A man of wonderful muscular power, his fleetness was at the same time unrivalled. His mental gifts were of the same high order. His tread was stately, as became a warrior chief. His eye black and naturally lustrous, under excitement glittered with basilisk power.

By such parents the children we have described would as a matter of course be idolized. The mother, of a poetic cast and highly imaginative, had early christened these darling pets, "Red Cloud and Dew Drop." They had been from infancy consigned to the cave of an intelligent and very comely native maiden. She had proved a faithful and watchful guardian of their health and safety.

In the early months of 1810 the maiden herself had become the object of ardent and most devoted love on the part of a well behaved and comely featured half-breed trader, who had settled at Omagansee. Frequently meeting the children with her on the paths and by the riverside, in their walks and pastimes, the trader became strongly attached to them also.

Between those children closely resembling each other in physical mould and feature, the difference in thought and motive power was as marked as that of sex. The large black eye of Red Cloud fastened on its object with a bold, steady, falcon gaze. His head was carried proudly erect, and his step was already marked by the firm stride of one conscious of an inward force entitling him to lead and command.

The eyes of Dew Drop were equally large, black and lustrous. But there was a shade of added moisture, imparting to them a soft, mild radiance. At the same time they were generally beaming with a half-hidden look of mirth and frolicsome mischief. Graceful and light of step as a playful fawn, the child girl foreshadowed the witching graces and fascinating charms of maturer years.

As was usual among all the native bands where renegades and outlaws were allowed a foothold, their influence was pestilent, and their associations debasing. Vagabonds and thieves by nature and habit, their secret raids and midnight depredations over their territorial border produced disputes and fomented quarrels between the native bands.

Those two precious scamps, the pale face and native renegade who had been so severely handled over on the Wakishegan and exiled therefrom by the maiden ruler of the Wakishos in 1804, were now active

and indefatigable in promoting feuds between the Wassanings and the Shiwassos along their conventional border line of occupation up in their hunting and trapping ranges.

Too cowardly and craven spirited to push their way singly up to Omagansee and wreak their vengeance upon the woman who had ordered their humiliating and bitter chastisement and exile, their hopes of achieving that revenge so long deferred rested solely in provoking actual hostilities between the two several Huron bands. In that event and with the chief and Shiwassos braves away upon the war path, they designed to steal by an inland trail into Omagansee and aim some telling blow at the life or happiness of Mokishenoqua.

In the early Spring of 1810 chance seemed in a signal manner to favor the plans of the scheming villians. Occasional parties of Shiwassos had previously in their hunting excursions met with similar parties of the Wassanings along their border line of occupation, and each had accused the other of pursuing their game over that dividing line, thus trenching upon the vested rights of the accusers. In these altercations, the claims of the respective parties as to the true line of demarcation overlapped each other by a space of miles.

The chance of which we spoke a few moments since occurred in this wise. Two of those rival hunting parties, composed of half a score each, met away back in the interior upon that disputed boundary territory. The two renegades were in the vicinity and witnessed the encounter of those tribal bands. Furtively edging their way up within ear shot they listened to the claims put forth by each. The discussion, waxing warm,

was soon merged in bitter words and angry recriminations. From his hiding place the pale face renegade aimed and sent an arrow to the heart of a Shiwassos brave.

Without pausing to inquire whence that arrow came, the hostile parties in the blind fury of that wild moment came to blows and a murderous conflict with tomahawks and knives. The Wassanings were finally beaten, and fled precipitately leaving half their number slain. Gray Eagle, listening to the distorted account of that bloody affray from the survivors of his own party, believed the Shiwassos to have been criminally aggressive. Chessaning on the contrary, relying upon the statement of his hunters, as strenuously imputed the fault to the Wassanings.

Gray Eagle promptly sent an angry message to Chessaning, demanding reparation and the condign punishment of the Shiwassos who had participated in the affray. Chessaning more politic, and withal desirous of averting a war, despatched to Gray Eagle a counter message, temperate but firm in tone, offering to refer the matter of grievance to Tonedoganee of the Wakishos or to Neome of the Pewanigos for a peaceable adjustment. To this pacific overture Gray Eagle rejoined by a curt and haughty reply:

"Tell your boy Chief that Gray Eagle will submit to no umpire but his own right arm on the war path."

Negotiation being thus summarily ended and all peaceful avenues closed, the Shiwassos chief gracefully yielded to the sole alternative. By return message he signified his acceptance of the gage of battle in these words:

"Chessaning fears not the right arm of Gray Eagle. The Shiwassos warriors will be no laggards on the

war path. Chessaning will yet dictate terms of peace to Gray Eagle at his own fireside."

As we have elsewhere remarked, Neome of the Pewanigos had married Onwanamache, the sister of Chessaning, and they dwelt at Muscatawing, his chief village on the Peonigowink. He was possessed of great political forecast for one of his years. He deemed the present a fitting opportunity for humbling the pride and weakening the power of Gray Eagle.

Knowing that the Wassanings far outnumbered the Shiwassos, stretching as the former did away up the east shore towards the Straits of Mackinaw, Neome resolved at once to aid his brother-in-law. His policy was to confine the theater of the war to the valley of the Tittabawassee. He promptly repaired to Omagansee by canoe and sought an interview with Chessaning.

He proposed to the latter hastily to muster and embark his war force in a fleet of canoes and drop down to the confluence of the two streams. Thence he was to ascend the Tittabawassee to a suitable place of rendezvous and base of campaign operations. Then Neome would himself close the mouth of that river with a fleet of canoes and a strong blockading force as his ally in the war. Chessaning, once landed and encamped, could return his fleet of canoes for safe keeping under cover of the blockading squadron.

Next Okemos, ruling Chief on the Grand River, being at his upper settlement of Akmonshee where the city of Lansing is now situated, despatched a messenger to the Shiwassos chief. He tendered to the latter as an allied force, five hundred Ottawa braves, but recommended that by an overland and interior route they should first strike the smaller settlements of Gray Eagle far up the branches of the main stream.

Chessaning gratefully accepted the assistance and adopted the advice and plans of both the friendly chiefs. Feeling now confident of possessing both the strength and ability, he determined by prompt action and vigorous blows to make it a short and brilliant campaign and to effectually humble the vaulting pride of Gray Eagle. His runners were sent in various directions calling for one thousand braves to rally around his standard at Omagansee on the fourth day thereafter.

Gray Eagle, having elected to abide the "wager of battle," was equally energetic in his preparation for the impending crisis, He also sought the aid of neighboring bands. On the west shore of Saginaw Bay and Lake Huron three weak bands tendered to him one or two hundred men each.

The crafty old chief next drafted all the renegades into instant service under the penalty of death or banishment for the slightest recusancy. He sent for the pale face and native away up stream. Those miscreants he more than suspected of having drawn the first blood in that border line affray. He well knew them to be familiar with the surroundings of Omagansee and Muscatawing, with the upper sections of the rivers on which they were respectively situated.

With sore misgivings the two yet promptly obeyed the call. For his own purpose the Chief sternly accused them of having fomented quarrels and purposely brought on the war. The pale face, knowing that the proof was at hand to convict him, thought it advisable to own the fact, and then desired to state the reason. Gray Eagle grimly cut him short. The reason he cared not to hear. The fact was all he de-

sired to know. Their fate was now at his disposal and their lives were in his keeping.

But they could yet atone for the crime and purchase his future favor. It was in their power to render him a special service. Accurate knowledge on two points would soon become vitally important to him. It could only be learned in the camp of the enemy. "First, how many braves would Chessaning lead forth on the war path? And, next, what settlement of the Wassanings did he intend first to assail?"

The Chief here proposed to them a jaunt to Omagansee forthwith to ascertain those facts and report them to him promptly. This fully accomplished inside of three days would win for them full pardon for the past and exemption from further service during the present war. Both turned pale at the bare mention of that duty and the fearful hazards of the trip. They had designed to visit that place, but the time they had chosen was when the Chief and braves were absent on the war path.

To them there was however no alternative. Should they decline the service, the Chief would slay them outright. They might approach and learn those facts under cover of darkness and swift canoe transit. Besides, an exemption from further service in the war would afford them ample time for revisiting Omagansee. They could go by an inland trail and take their long cherished revenge with impunity, for the resident families would be defenseless.

They accepted the proposal of the chief. Within the next half hour they were ready to leave Wassebeewing, the capital of Gray Eagle. It was at the junction of a large southern tributary with the main stream and where Midland city is now situated.

Down the stream by canoe the two renegades took their way in season to reach the mouth at early evening twilight.

Here they turned up stream, and successfully passed the mouths of the Wakishegan and Peonigowink without interruption. With added caution they pulled steadily onward in the obscurity of a night sky overcast with clouds. Arriving at Omagansee before the people had retired to rest, they stopped at the lower landing, and mooring their canoe, walked up one of the less frequented paths, until they saw a bright light in a trader's lodge.

They approached it near enough to hear a murmur of voices within. Then with the instinct and low cunning of sneak thieves, they left the path, and on their hands and knees crept to the rear of that lodge. With ears placed at the bottom of the matting spirally wound for a covering to the lodge, they could hear quite distinctly the conversation of the persons inside the trader's abode.

The talk of those gossiping visitors very naturally turned upon the preparation for the war and the anticipated assemblage of one thousand braves at Omagansee the day after the approaching morrow. Next they talked of the fleet of canoes then being gathered at different points, to take the whole by water down to and up the Tittabawassee well towards Wassebeewing.

They also gathered from that chance medley talk that Chessaning and the deaf mute Segoquen were up the river at Owasso, but were expected to return the following morning. Thus early and safely had the renegades acquired a knowledge of the very facts they had visited Omagansee to learn, and were really ready

for an instant start homeward, although the white outlaw seemed inclined still to listen.

The current of talk within gradually shifted until finally it assumed a lighter vein and one or two commenced chaffing the young trader about his evident partiality for the young maiden of the household of Chessaning. The further talk showed that the young woman had the principal charge of the two children of the Chief, a boy and girl, twin born and then about five years old. These facts were carefully treasured up by the listening renegades. Finally they retired to some hiding place for rest till morning.

The deaf mute Segoquen was now some four and twenty years of age, and a son of the foster mother of the Chief, having been reared and still remaining an inmate of the household. He had been a deaf mute from his birth, but was intelligent, acute and keenly observant of every object coming within the compass of his vision.

He conversed readily with all the inmates of the family by finger signs. He was an adept with the bow and arrow, and as a scout upon track or trail he was without an equal in the entire Shiwassos band. His services had already been so signal, and his skill and bravery so important and eminent, that Chessaning, contrary to usuage and overlooking his infirmities had raised him to the rank of a brave on the war path.

Segoquen had ingeniously sought a remedy for his lack of the faculty of hearing by training a dog of remarkable acuteness to accompany his foot steps and to hear for him. In other words, the mute by closely watching the dog could easily tell by his motions when any sound disturbed him. The dog, although of native breed, had the keen scent of a hound in following a

track. His body was long, but his limbs were short. His tail was bushy and carried low. His step was quick but stealthy. His hair was mainly coarse, shaggy and dark colored, but mottled with gray. His eyes were deep set, round and having the deep far-reaching sight of the lynx. His ears were delicately formed, being thin, pliable and covered with soft velvety hair. They stood partially erect from the base but lopped over at the tips. They were lifted or depressed at pleasure by the dog, having the ceaseless flutter of the aspen when he was excited by scent or sound. On the evening the two outlaws reached Omagansee as we have above related, the mute and dog were both with the Chief at Owasso.

From the first glimmer of the morning dawn the renegades had been astir. They had reconnoitered the lodge of the chief with its vacant grounds and avenues or paths. One of the latter led from the front entrance angling down stream to the main landing. Another led from the south side entrance obliquely up stream to a small family landing. The outlaws next entered their canoe and passed along up stream above the upper landing.

Having thus completed a full survey for their guidance in a premeditated though subsequent visit, they had turned their canoe for descending the stream on their return for Wassebeewing. They had then a half hour's morning sun with the air of that springtime soft and balmy.

At the moment they thus headed about, the south entrance of the lodge was brushed aside and two little children came bounding forth followed by their attendant maiden. From the talk the previous evening at the trader's lodge to which the renegades had listened,

they recognized the three at sight, and instantly the fiendish scheme for their abduction was concocted by the miscreants. They shot their canoe under a fringe of bushes on the western side. The pale face leaped ashore leaving the native to drop the canoe cautiously down to the landing.

The white outlaw was left to make his way covertly under the bushes close to the same port. The fact turned out as the outlaws had shrewdly surmised. The three from the lodge were bound for that landing. The children came to watch for the coming of the Chief, their father. Down the path the little ones skipped in gleesome mood, with many frolicsome antics and playful gambols. The maiden came more demurely, but yet with a light tripping step. The children sprang to the verge of the landing and cast their quick glances up stream towards Owasso.

The maiden stopped within a few feet attentively watching their movements. Together the outlaws moved. The pale face leaped within reach of the maiden, but the native rushed his canoe bow on the landing. With a smart blow of his hatchet handle the white kidnapper struck the maiden on the temple, thus felling her senseless to the ground. The native leaped ashore seizing the boy as the other did the little girl and together they tossed them inside of the canoe.

The native followed with a spring and holding over them his drawn knife menacingly, told them he would cut their throats if they spoke a word or made a loud noise. The other renegade next stepped aboard with the unconscious maiden in his arms, and laying her down sprang ashore and shoved off the canoe by the bow stern. Vaulting into the floating craft each with

his paddle sent it flying down the current past the lower settlement.

The pale face laying aside his paddle bent over the side of the canoe and scooping up water with both his hands threw it in the face of the yet unconscious maiden. He repeated the application a second and even a third time. Then came a sigh, a shiver, a gasping breath, and the eyelids slowly opened. With a bewildered look the maiden gazed at him and then around till her eye chanced to light upon the children.

She raised herself to a sitting posture and stretched out her hands to them. They crept towards her, till each nestled its little head in her lap. During the whole scene not a tear had been shed, not a whimper had been heard from either. The young woman threaded her fingers through their locks caressingly, and then bending down her head kissed them lovingly. Lifting up her eyes she fixed them wistfully, beseechingly upon the face of the renegades each in turn.

The native looked grim, unmoved and malignant; the pale face equally relentless, but, stirred by that touching though mute appeal, addressed here in words designed simply to allay her fears of present violence. He told her that if they remained quiet and submissive, they should not be harmed beyond being held in captivity. But from it they would never be released.

His brief statement was barely ended when little Red Cloud standing up erect, with flashing eye fixed fearlessly on the white man's face spoke out sharply.

"Me think you mean coward to steal children. Red Cloud is little boy and can't fight. He will some day be big chief. Then he will kill all such bad men."

The pale face was at first surprised, and then his features fairly worked under the power of the childish

home thrust. The eye of the native burned with a dangerous light, as his hand for an instant wandered from the paddle to his knife handle. Just then Dew Drop stood up beside her brother and with a resolute rather than a fiery tone she said, "Dew Drop is little girl. When she is woman she will not fight or kill bad men."

The pale face amused by her pertness and the abrupt close of her speech carelessly inquired, "What then will you do?" The answer came sharply on the heel of the question, "I will have them whipped with rods by many braves, as mamma once did." The shock of that reply ran shivering through the frame of the white renegade, whilst the native throwing down his paddle drew his knife, with a malignant scowl on his swarthy features and a fiendish glance at the children.

The white man at once interfered, saying sternly to the native, "What folly is this, to flare up in fierce anger at the idle prattle of babes? Put up your knife, and be content to use it on men. These children we are to keep, that through them we may continue to punish their mother. I foresee that the task will be difficult, short of brute force. You know what my theory is, that blood will tell. In these two little speeches Red Cloud has flashed out the spirit of Chessaning, whilst Dew Drop has evinced the resolute will of Mokishenoqua." Both of the renegades relapsing into silence were content to ply themselves diligently to their paddles.

Two hours after the downstream flight of the renegades with their captives, Chessaning and Segoquen arrived at the upper landing by canoe from Owasso. They found the whole settlement alive and laboring under intense excitement. Males and females were

rushing to and fro on the land, whilst canoes were glancing everywhere over the water's surface.

Mokishenoqua, tearless and motionless, stood like a marble statue on that upper landing as Chessaning leaping ashore stood facing her. The Chief discerned in that still exterior, the voiceless agony which was crushed back and held locked in that heaving bosom. A nameless horror ran thrilling through his nervous system, chilling the blood and congealing the heart with all its life issues.

Speech first came to the lips of the wife and mother. The tones were even, but the voice was chilled as though freezing with a death touch at the point of utterance. "We are childless," were the words she spoke, and that was all. O! For the power! by a word picture to limn out the features of the Chief as those words of doom fell on his ear and the mighty agony came surging over the face, swelling, then shrivelling, twisting, then contorting nerve and tendon, forcing the beaded drops of horror to stand out thickly on the brow and sweeping across the features with shadows successively livid, then leaden and finally of ashen hue. Parrhasius, the great artist painter of antiquity, might wring from his bruised and broken slave victim on the rack and transfer to his canvass the master expression of agony produced by physical suffering and the pangs of acute bodily pain, but the agony of which we now speak was mental and heart agony, intense, unbearable and excruciating.

For a brief space eysesight failed, the brain reeled and trembled in dizzy whirl, whilst bodily strength departed. The Chief swayed from side to side and then staggering would have fallen, but the hand of that wonderful woman caught his arm and her loving

words revived and rallied his fainting spirit. She said, soothingly, "We are still left to each other." The fact thus tenderly announced he grasped as a sure anchor to the soul in that tempest of thought agony. Both sight and strength returned and the brain was clear and steady again.

Then too Segoquen approached holding up a tiny moccasin to view. Mokishenoqua seized and kissed it saying, "It must have fallen from the foot of Red Cloud." Then as the mute still held out his hand she restored it to him. He examined it critically as though making its imprint on mind and memory and then thrust it into his bosom. Next in his language of signs he addressed them. "The children are not dead, but captives. I want this landing for a short time wholly to myself. I shall find the trail and follow it. I shall also find and bring your children safely back."

With these words of hope and promise the stricken parents walked to the lodge whilst the mute bent himself on hands and knees to his task. Every foot of that ground was scrutinized by that falcon eye. Every mark, dent, or imprint was noticed. Fortunately none but the parents and himself had been there since the abduction. He found the track of the pale face and knew by its size and toeing out that a white man made it. He found two or three foot prints of the other as he had stepped ashore to seize the child.

He next traced the light foot prints of the maiden to where she had stopped. There he found the impression made by her fall, and the slight dragging of the feet as the renegade had lifted and borne her unconcious form to the canoe. Standing at the point where the maiden fell he glanced around him. He saw in

the edge of the bushes a few feet south a twig lopped and newly broken, and stepping to the place he readily traced back the track to where he had landed from the canoe.

Segoquen was master of the whole mystery. He held the threads to lead him through the labyrinth to a satisfactory conclusion. He could solve the problem of the sudden disappearance of both maiden and children. He started for the lodge but met in the path the half-breed trader and lover of the maiden, full of grief for her loss and wild with terror at her probable fate, for he had come from the lodge where the Chief had told him that the three had been kidnapped by some unknown ruffians.

The half-breed was spirited, intelligent, a good hunter and skilled in the use of the bow and arrow. He and the mute were intimate friends and conversed readily with each other by signs. Segoquen told him of his discoveries and of his resolve to leave at once in pursuit. The half-breed urgently requested the privilege of bearing him company. The mute knew that he was handy and trusty and that love for the maiden would make him wary and watchful. So the offer was accepted and a half hour's time for preparation allowed.

As they separated, Segoquen sped to the lodge informing the parents of all his discoveries. He told them with confidence that a pale face and a native were the abductors, that the maiden had been struck down, the children first put in the canoe, then she was borne aboard in the arms of the pale face who had shoved the canoe afloat, and they had gone down stream.

Mokishenoqua having listened attentively now spoke, "I can see it all very plain. It is the work of

revenge long deferred. Segoquen is right. The kidnappers are the two renegades who six years ago abducted Onwanamache, and whom I caused to be severely castigated and banished from the Wakishegan. Oh! My poor children! I fear they are lost!"

Segoquen caught from her lips the substance of her remarks. He replied in his language, "Let me go. I will find and bring them back." They both implicitly trusted him. They knew him to be capable of wonderful exploits. They gave him a hearty consent. The provisions and the arms of the two were placed in a good serviceable canoe, and as a last precaution the mute took his dog to the upper landing, showed him the tracks and took him up the margin and let him follow that track to the landing.

Then they embarked and the two plied their paddles with practiced dip, but without exhaustive effort, as their trip would doubtless prove a lengthy one. They were agreed that up the Tittabawassee the renegades had gone with their captives. Knowing of the hostilities about commencing between the two bands, Segoquen surmised that the act of the renegades had the sanction of Gray Eagle. If so, then they would make direct for Wassebeewing to report to the Chief.

Thus reasoning, they lost no time in searches by the way or at the mouth of either of the rivers. Finally they turned up the Tittabawassee and pursued their way for a half score of miles. Here near the south bank was a cluster of large wide-spreading forest trees. Under them they could see from their canoe that many fires had been kindled and they were satisfied it was a wayside stopping place for rest and for cooking food.

They ran up, landed and entered upon a search. The mute fastened his eye upon the dog who was busily sniffing over the ground. He saw him suddenly stop. The dog with his ears rising and falling in a flutter and eye and nose fastened upon a foot print. Segoquen advanced to the spot as the dog started with nose to the ground and wagging tail for the camp ground.

The mute found a large moccasin track toeing out, and a second smaller one stepping native fashion over all the toes, also a third track still smaller and evidently that of a squaw. The two scouts followed the dog to where a fire had been kindled and where hot embers yet remained. Seating themselves, they made a meal of their prepared food, giving to the dog a liberal share.

Then rising to depart, the dog found and followed the return track of the outlaws to the water side. The mute and half-breed were now in exuberant spirits. They felt assured that they were close on the track and that the captives were yet safe. They reasoned that the ruffians had each carried one of the children in his arms, and that the third small track was that of the maiden.

From that moment the half-breed believed in the dog as implicitly as Segoquen had done for years. They again embarked and steadily advanced hour after hour till they knew by many indubitable signs that they were in the vicinity of Wassebeewing. Discovering on the bank the mouth of a small rivulet, they pushed their canoe a few rods up its bed. Landing there they hauled it up under cover of thick bushes.

It was now twilight and they were in a strange land and destitute of a solitary landmark to guide their further search. They had met no canoes in

their lengthy trip and felt confident that as yet no spy was dogging their footsteps. Creeping into a thicket and wrapping themselves in their blankets, they lay down for a sleep of a couple of hours with the dog curled down beside them.

The day succeeding the capture of the maiden and children was the time fixed for the one thousand Shiwassos braves to assemble at Omagansee. At early dawn by trail and by canoe the arrival commenced singly, by twos, and by squads. Before noon of that same day the principal war leader or Chief by a messenger sent to the lodge of Chessaning announced that the complement of warriors was full and arrayed in files for review.

The Chief and his wife, who made a point of being with him till the final departure, walked out upon the open grounds, where taking a favorable position, they witnessed the warlike evolutions, by single and double files, and in close column of attack. The whole performance was highly creditable and the feeling of pride brought a glow to the features and a flash and glitter to the eye of both Chief and wife alike.

Chessaning was warrior born and a gifted enthusiastic leader on the war path. Mokishenoqua had a vivid recollection of the time when as a maiden leader of the Wakishos she had maneuvered them with signal ability on the war path and in sanguinary conflict. They were indeed a couple of princely mould and well did they acquit themselves, as in set terms and chosen phrase each in turn commended both leaders and braves. Then bowing gracefully to the assemblage they retired to their lodge.

Little would a stranger have imagined that noble couple to be then and there heart-stricken by a cruel bereavement. Two hours later that martial force were all in their canoes and the Chief, bidding adieu to his wife, leaped into a central canoe and gave order for a forward movement. Down the broad stream went that gallant canoe fleet with measured paddle stroke and three abreast. As they passed the mouth of the Peonigowink they observed a fleet of almost equal force descending under Neome the Pewanigo Chief. Sweeping grandly onward and past the junction of the Wakishegan, the Shiwassos fleet in due time reached and turned up the Tittabawassee. Half an hour later the mouth of that river was tightly sealed by the blockading squadron of Neome wedged in side by side and from shore to shore.

Chessaning pressed on with his fleet for ten miles and then moored his canoes and camped his men in a shady grove. At the same hour the braves of Neome went into bivouac on either shore at the mouth. On that same day at noon the old Chief Okemos started his five hundred Ottawa braves from the northern elbow of the Grand River near the present village of Lyons. They were destined for the upper settlements of the Wassanings on the branches of the Tittabawassee by an overland route.

The old Chief of many active campaigns had thought to content himself at home with a war force abroad. But after one sleepless night he started early in the following morning with two trusty scouts on the trail of his party. Pushing briskly and steadily forward he reached their camp on the succeeding night where he enjoyed a few hours of refreshing sleep.

Segoquen and the half-breed were also including in a short respite in an unknown and hostile vicinity. After the lapse of a couple of hours they awoke, and sharing a hasty lunch with the dog they advanced up the south margin of the river towards Wassebeewing. The night was starlight, with the moon in its quartering. Striking a river trail, their progress was rapid, and presently lights were seen on the eastern side of the south affluent of the main stream.

Advancing now cautiously and taking advantage of an elevation, they soon ascertained the fact that the main settlement was on the far side of that branch and on the peninsula between it and the main river. Still as there seemed to be quite a stir in the small settlement near them, they concluded to approach and reconnoiter. There seemed to be a gathering of both sexes in the open air and a confused medley of talk.

The half-breed volunteered to creep within earshot and listen. This was adroitly done, and he soon learned that two renegades had arrived fresh from Omagansee; that the Shiwassos, a thousand strong were soon to approach by the river, and thereafter there would be no more passing as the Pewanigos in force would blockade the mouth. This might cut off some hundreds of their allies from the north who were to come by water transit.

He also learned that they had brought with them three captives, a maiden and two children, but where from was kept a secret. Creeping back to a safe distance, the half-breed then hastily sought the mute and imparted to him what news he had gleaned. The latter was highly gratified. He next proposed that they follow up the smaller stream beyond the

settlement and then cross over during the night, which they safely achieved by wading at the rapids above.

In the early dawn they ascended an abrupt wooded elevation, whence they discovered that the settlement was alive with people rushing hither and thither. In that observatory they stayed during the day and until twilight had deepened into night. Then descending to the ordinary level Segoquen proposed that they skirt up around the southwestern margin of the settlement to the main river. This was tedious work as they found an outlying guard had been posted and in two or three instances a close watch of the motions of the dog, alone saved them from running foul of these hidden foes.

At early dawn they had completed their circuit by striking the up-river trail, and retired back inland to a small bushy knoll where they slept away most of that day. In the fast vanishing twilight they prepared to move again, when suddenly the dog fastened a firm grip of his teeth on the legging of the mute. The latter in by-gone times had experienced that same check and knew it foretold some pressing danger. Giving a sign to the half-breed, both threw themselves at length upon the ground, crawling towards the dog now crouching a few feet ahead and to the right of where they had dropped.

The eye of the mute rested on the dog, whose velvety ears were lifting and fluttering, his gaze steadily fixed in one direction. Tracing that line of sight, the eye of Segoquen detected a slight motion of the herbage and shrubs a few rods distant, and shortly thereafter discovered a small dark spot exposed, about the size of his hand. His arrow was at once notched on the bow string, but he waited to make sure of some vital

part. Not so with the half-breed. He too with arrow ready had seen the herbage move and then the dark spot appear.

He waited no longer, but rising to his knees discharged his arrow. The aim was perfect, but it simply transfixed the shoulder of a crawling foe. It had however the effect of a lethal wound upon the victim. He remained prostrate on the ground but commenced a piteous moaning. The dog now rising advanced fearlessly with the men following. The wounded person proved to be a half-breed whom both knew as a former resident of Omagansee. He had fallen into loose habits, had been thrice detected in larcencies from the residents and was ultimately scourged and banished.

He now informed them that he had joined the renegades on that river and had been ordered into service by Gray Eagle; that he had no stomach for the fight and was at the moment of his wounding attempting to desert into the forest. He had just previously caught a glimpse of them and supposed they were outlying scouts of the old chief. The half-breed trader having some skill in the surgical art now carefully extracted the arrow and dressed the wounded shoulder with such appliances as he had at hand.

The wounded man grateful for the service gave them the news of the enemy's movements; among other things he mentioned the arrival of the two renegades from Omagansee and that for their services on that mission the Chief had exempted them from further service in the war. .

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The red streaks of dawn were already glinting up the eastern horizon. Standing by the bank they watched and waited still. The dog was busily moving about with nose to the ground. Presently he gave his usual signal of discovery. Segoquen darted forward. There was the moccasin track of the pale face, and another of a native, whilst as though following them the small track of a squaw.

Presently, Segoquen, stooping, clutched a tiny object from the pebbles close by the river brink. It was the diminutive moccasin of a child decorated with fancy bead and quill work. An instant his eye fairly gloated over the sight. Then thrusting his hand beneath the garment on his chest he brought forth its counterpart found by him away back at Omagansee. They were both overjoyed. They were past Wassebeewing and still held the night trail. The wounded renegade had spoken truly. They now knew where to search. They put their provisions and blankets in the canoe and shoving off leaped aboard with the dog and started up stream with eager paddle dips.

The two renegade abductors with their captives had made good time in their trip to Wassebeewing, and promptly reported their news to Gray Eagle, taking their captives with them to his lodge. Their report was highly satisfactory to him, and he readily granted them complete exemption from further service in the war. During their conference Red Cloud and Dew Drop had approached near, and, the eye of the Chief falling upon them, he inquired whose children they were.

The White renegade commenced with an evasive reply. The chief curtly checked his falsehood by turning to the children and putting the question

direct. "Boy who is your father?" The little bright-eyed fellow, standing erect and unabashed replied, "I am Red Cloud. My father is Chessaning, Chief over at Omagansee." With a start of surprise, Gray Eagle, glancing at the little girl put to her the question "Who is your mother?" She unfalteringly replied, "Mokish-enoqua is my mother, and Red Cloud is my brother."

Turning again to the boy the Chief put to him the further question, "Where is your father, and how came you here?" Again the answer came proudly. "Chessaning gone to make big fight with Gray Eagle. We came here 'cause these thieves stole and brought us here from our home." The Chief amused by the thrust at the outlaws, continued his questions. "What does Red Cloud mean to do about it?" The boy replied, "Me mean do nothing now, too little. Soon be big Chief. Then kill all such thieves as Chesanning once did." A broad smile now rested on the swarthy features of Gray Eagle. He enjoyed tantalizing those renegades.

Looking again aside at the little girl he inquired of her, "What will Dew Drop do?" With a steady thoughtful look she answered, "When me get to be a woman, me have all child and women stealers whipped with big rods by many braves as mamma did the two who stole my Auntie Onwanamache." The chief closed by saying, "Answered by both you children as becomes the blood you inherit from your parents. The spirit is royal, as the stock is noble."

Turning then to the renegades, Gray Eagle sternly remarked, "These children have unwittingly told me your history. I have now your key motive for their abduction. You can take them with you to your place of retreat, because they and the maiden will be

safer there than here in the pending battles. But you will hold them subject to my call. Now, mark me! If you neglect or stint them in food or clothing, or abuse either of the three ever so lightly, I will have you skinned alive with knives, and your raw bodies shall be dipped into the brimy water running from the springs near your stopping place. Now begone. I have done with such as you are."

They hastily left his presence, shivering in abject terror at his horrible threat, hastening to procure some needed articles of clothing for use, including a suitable blanket for each of the three and a pair of moccasins for Red Cloud. The boy claimed and kept the one taken from his foot and which he doubtless dropped accidentally at the upper landing where Segoquen regained it.

In a few hours the outlaws took their captives up on the trail, as the native had previously run up their canoe for safety out of the throng below. Thence upward to the settlement near their retreat, their journey was without incident, but their demeanor towards the captives was vastly improved. They became attentive, even kind. They had designed to make a stoppage of some weeks in the settlement in their home region. They meant to enlarge and render more commodious their old cramped and dingy lodge out in a secluded dell a few miles away, so as to accommodate their family so suddenly and strangely multiplied.

But that settlement had been doomed to a hostile attack, and the time set for the purpose was the night the renegades arrived with their captives. Whilst on his overland forest march Okemos had sent forward his scouts to make a survey of the region, who

had reported back to him the situation and surroundings of that settlement with the best avenue of approach for a night attack. Fortunately for the renegades and captives, they found on their arrival and took possession of a vacant lodge close by the landing and on the opposite side of the village from that of the premeditated assault.

In the evening they had secured from a resident a saddle of venison, and kindling a central fire in the lodge, they prepared and all partook with a keen relish of a broil of venison steaks. Then wrapped in their blankets and with feet towards the smouldering fire they sought the rest needed by all. Towards morning they were roused by the distant but still terrible war-whoop of the five hundred Ottawa braves and the blood curdling shrieks of women and children nearer at hand.

As they had not disrobed, all sprang to their feet, throwing aside their blankets, and rushing outside. Already the wild havoc of war and desolation was fully initiated. Wigwams were in flames and onward swept the invading phalanx, and still nearer came the flying, shrieking and falling victims. With a single glance the outlaws comprehended the situation and their own imminent peril. Hurriedly seizing their goods they drove their captives before them to their canoe and, embarking, shot away upstream with the nervous and concentrated effort of men working for life itself.

The stream there reduced to a small volume was very crooked and filled with obstacles. It required both skill and a knowledge of its windings to keep the channel and navigate it with even tolerable safety. Thus for half a score of miles they toiled on, finally landing at the mouth of their secluded dell. Here

they led the way two score rods to their rude cabin constructed with hemlock boughs on a frame of crotches and transverse poles and crawling inside experienced for the first time in several hours a feeling of relief and of present safety.

Now the raid of the Ottawa band through that settlement was like the passage of a tornado through a forest glade. It was no part of the policy of Okemos to hunt for victims on the ground or to pursue the fugitives outside of the settlement. His purpose was to send the terror-stricken and helpless mass by canoe down upon the bands of Gray Eagle at Wassebeewing. Right onward the compact band of warriors pressed applying the torch right and left. The line of march was nearly parallel with that of the stream.

As they thus swept past the lodges, they left behind a solid sheet of flame which overlapped and consumed a vast majority of all those frail and combustible tenements. Onward with unflagging footsteps went the Chief down stream but keeping inland from river view.

With even step and elastic tread close in the rear of Okemos followed that silent band till the fiery illumination in their rear faded from view in the distance of miles away. The object was to outstrip the fugitives and be the first to reach the only considerable village on that side of the river, midway between the desolated settlement and the capital, Wassebeewing.

At the latter place Gray Eagle massed his forces some fifteen hundred strong including about three hundred northern allies from overland and forty outlaws impressed into service. Having great confidence in outnumbering Chessaning, he resolved on giving him battles some ten miles below his capital on the

south bank of the river and was on the point of departure when the first fugitives by canoe loads arrived from the devastated settlement above. They spread the news of the swift and sweeping destruction of their settlement by the Ottawas in countless numbers and of their near approach to the intermediate village.

The Chief was now filled with alarm. He fully realized the magnitude of the danger by which he was fast being environed. He first resolved to divide his force and fight both ways. Next came upon him, pell mell, hundreds of canoes from above, laden with men, women and children, flying as they supposed from torch and knife. The Chief abandoned the idea of advancing up stream or of going far to meet the Shiwassos below.

Half a mile away in the latter direction the trail one hundred rods inland from the river, came up a a narrow valley for a short distance between the precipitous slopes of high ridges. There with one thousand men he could make a successful stand. The other five hundred he would draw in a close line from the river to its southern branch in the rear of the village. These he imagined would be able to ward off the raiding band of Okemos, and there if anywhere he could force the allies and the renegades to fight.

He hastily posted his main force in that valley and nearly up both the adjacent slopes. Flying back he stretched that defensive line in the rear of his settlement. His eastern scout came in with news of the approach of the full force of Chessaning to within five miles. Next came a runner from the west with the startling intelligence that Okemos was swiftly advancing and his band was already far below the nearest settlement.

Gray Eagle thus became aware of the fact that he was liable to an attack within the hour by one and probably both of those hostile invading bands. But he did not know the further fact that the chief of each had by trusty scouts been fully posted as to the exact disposition he had made of his own divided force. At length from a slight eminence he discovered the van of the Shiwassos as they hove in sight east of the valley in which his own force was now lying in ambush. He joined the latter hastily to direct the fight now imminent.

When we last parted company with Segoquen and the half breed they had got under way from the landing above Wasseebeewing, with renewed hope and a lively use of their paddles. Onward they pushed during all that day and till evening had fully come. They were within three miles of that upper settlement but in entire ignorance of the fact. Wearied by their protracted efforts they landed, concealed their canoe, retired for a space into the bush and partook of their rations of dried meat. Next they slept with the dog circled up at their feet.

In the early morning the mute was awakened by the dog licking his face. He was in a moment fully conscious, and nudging the half-breed they both raised themselves to a sitting posture, the one to look, the other to hear. The dog crept towards the water, and they followed furtively to a spot whence the view of the river was clear, where they heard jerking paddle strokes and dimly saw scores of canoes shooting past them down the river current.

Next they saw by the motions of the dog that something inland troubled him. Fearful of surprise and capture, they crept hastily for many rods towards the

interior and until the half-breed heard the tramp of many feet. Both caught glimpses of a line of shadowy forms flitting along the eastern trail. Back they turned again and crept this time for their canoe. They found the river again deserted and running with its accustomed quiet flow.

They launched and started their canoe upward on their trip, but wondering much at what they had seen and heard. Turning a headland in a curve of the stream they beheld a great light flashing upward and throwing a broad illumination far and wide. Startled by all these phenomena coming in quick succession they sent their canoe ahead with vigorous paddle strokes. The burning village was soon in open view and they knew it to be the work of an enemy. From what they knew of the war plans of the campaign they soon reached a satisfactory solution. The Ottawa band of Okemos had been there.

Following up this line of thought the canoes must have been filled with fugitives and the dusky forms they had dimly seen back on the trail were the raiding Ottawa band. Reaching the landing, they found that the fire had already made sad havoc with the frail tenements. Then for the first time in view of the wide desolation, the conviction fastened upon their minds that the maiden and the captive children for whom they had made such untiring search must have been there and if so they must have miserably perished in that fiery visitation.

They spent several hours in a critical survey of the burnt and now smouldering district, but without the discovery of aught save divers human bodies slowly consuming in that smothered combustion. They were downcast and sorely distressed. But when faith and

hope were alike deserting them the eye of Segoquen chanced to fall on the dog. The latter was intently sniffing and eyeing the ground at the upper edge of the landing and close by the water. Then the ears lifted with that aspen flutter and the tail was soon steadily wagging.

Segoquen sprang hastily to the spot and there saw the plain imprint of a large moccasin. He also discovered where a canoe had been shoved off by the bow, with an upstream sling movement. He rapidly informed the half-breed by signs that those they sought had escaped by an upward course. In five minutes time they were in their canoe with the dog and with renewed hope and vigor were once more in swift pursuit.

The outlaws up at their rude cabin with their captives were all hungry, but destitute of food. Kindling a fire, the told the maiden and children to wrap up in their blankets and sleep till they returned with food. Then equipped with bow, arrows and knives, they sallied forth for a hunt. They were not fortunate in their quest of game and hours elapsed ere they returned with the carcass of a deer.

In the meantime the maiden had obediently spread the blankets as if to sleep before they left, then sprang to an aperture and watched them out of sight. From their first captivity she had waited most anxiously for such an opportunity. She judged that escape by canoe was now possible, and, skilled in the use of the paddle, she would run back down to Wassebeewing and appeal to Gray Eagle for protection; he had spoken kindly to the children and she had heard his charge to the outlaws as to their treatment of their captives.

She turned from the aperture towards the children to witness between them glances of singular intelligence and shrewdness. Red Cloud proudly self-reliant spoke, "We can now go back by canoe. I know the way, for me watch everything as we come along." Here Dew Drop had her word of encouragement, "You won't have to paddle much, for mamma says canoe always go easy down stream."

Proud of their spirit and made hopeful by their words, the maiden gathered up their blankets into a bundle and followed with a quick step as the children skipped ahead of her down to the canoe. She placed them within, shoved off by the bow stern, sprang aboard and seizing the paddle headed the craft with the current, and with a few smart strokes sent it gliding swiftly on its way.

Her experience on the water was limited to broad smooth streams with long straight stretches free from all obstruction. She had no knowledge of the force and current drift in sharp turns and abrupt elbows, and she knew not of the danger from projecting logs and limbs fast to the shore. Finding their passage as yet smooth and sufficiently rapid, she was content with holding the paddle with an occasional dip to direct the canoe aright.

They had advanced thus about three miles, when they neared a double turn with a sharp elbow projecting to the south. The bank opposite that point was high and steep; in fact, being a simple ridge running shore-wise and falling off southward as abruptly into a parallel valley. Attracted by the prattle of the children, the maiden saw no danger until the canoe, caught by the current, was borne into the whirl of an inner eddy. It was there spitted upon the sharp end

of a limb attached to a tree-body lying horizontally above the water but fastened by its roots to the shore.

The rent in the birchen canoe was large and the water, rushing in, would soon have sunk it but for the firm hold of the limb. The maiden knew that their voyage was then and there ended. With rare presence of mind she first placed the little ones upon the tree-body. Red Cloud walked it with light firm step to the bank. Dew Drop watched him to the shore and then as firmly and briskly tripped after him and jumped from the roots to the soil.

The maiden gathered up the blankets, now floating, wrung them out one by one and with them stepped the log to where the children stood. Telling them to remain quiet, she started up the bank obliquely for the summit. The active little sprites thus left behind watched her a moment and then with hands and feet climbed nimbly after her, thus reaching the top surface without her aid.

Standing upon the elevated ridge the maiden first scanned the surrounding region and then looked down into the valley below. She had heard the renegades say there was a river trail along the south shore, and it must then be down in that valley. She descended the slope, the children following closely and safely She went out on the level distance of an arrow's flight, and there sat down at the roots of a large tree, overcome by a new and most appalling thought. They had no food, no means of procuring any, and the children must die of starvation. She had no tears for herself, but for her pets, and wept bitterly.

While she sat oppressed with these harrowing apprehensions, Segoquen and the half-breed had reached that elbow of the river in their diligent ascent and were

rounding close up on the north when they espied the wrecked canoe still hanging fast to the limb. They turned in along side for a closer inspection of the abandoned craft. The dog seemed strangely excited. Sniffing at the wreck, he finally sprang upon its narrow gunwale and thence to the log. There with all his lively signals of a rare discovery he traversed the log, and then flying up the bank was lost to their view.

Segoquen by signs directed the half-breed to make their canoe fast to the limb and then to follow. This done he sprang upon the log, took its lengths in leaps, and up that ridge he climbed with surprising fleetness. The half-breed made the canoe fast in a trice, and then springing to the log in turn made up the ascent, reaching the summit but a few moments behind the other.

As the half-breed came to the side of the mute he found that his falcon eye was already darting its glance from object to object in that low valley. Suddenly through a narrow vista between the forest branches it fastened on a precious group. Catching the eye of the half-breed he pointed out to him the spectacle that now stirred their inmost souls.

There in plain view was the dog frisking and leaping about the maiden and children who were in turn caressing and fondling him with loving hands. As the scouts were upon the point of rushing down the slope towards the group, a shrill but mournful wail, childlike in tone smote upon the ear of the half-breed coming from some distance to the right of the maiden and children. He touched the arm of the mute and the eyes of both were turned in that direction. They saw a sight which fairly stopped their heart throbs; there upon the tree tops, side by side, two full-sized panthers were making directly for the group on the

ground below. An instant more and the two men went flying down the slope over the level space for the same objective.

It was a race for lives far more precious to them than their own. Luckily each carried his bow with arrow clasped beside it. The acute ear of the maiden had also caught the sound of that hungry wail, knew its fearful import, and gathered the direction whence it came. Hurrying the children around on the opposite side of the tree, she covered them with her own person as a shield.

The dog, governed by instinct, rushed a few steps towards the approaching animals, and with furious growls and circling jumps seemed to court their attention and first assault. The male panther took the lead by a dozen yards. Gradually descending to the larger and lower limbs, he finally struck a main horizontal branch, not over twenty feet from the ground and about the same distance to the west of where the dog maintained his stand.

Segoquen with bounding leaps coming from the north was at the moment not over twenty paces from the dog. The male panther uttered a succession of abrupt and terrific screams as he stood upon the limb lashing his sides with his long tail, with red wide-open mouth, and eyes like balls of flame.

Behind the tree Dew Drop sat nestled quietly. The maiden shivered with fear bending over her. Red Cloud breaking incontinently loose from her hand stepped out far enough to gaze upon the panther and the dog. The half-breed was yet a few rods in the rear of the mute but still advancing. The dog suddenly ceasing to jump about stood gazing intently at his foe on the limb, who setting all his feet firmly

and curving his spine upward went like a ball through the air for the dog.

The latter had no intention of abiding the shock. He made on the instant a springing leap of fully ten feet in the direction of Segoquen, who had halted and stood with arrow notched on his bow string. The half-breed kept advancing. The panther as he struck the ground finding himself foiled of his prey, wheeled facing the dog again with an angry scream. Settling himself for another spring he stood with head well up and open mouth. For that mark Segoquen aimed and discharged his arrow. Entering mouth and throat that missle pierced its way through muscle and flesh and finally beside the neck bone and well back towards the fore shoulders. Instead of his forward leap the animal went into a series of circling whirls and rolls upon the ground. The mute sprang forward near him tomahawk in hand, and warily avoiding actual contact watched his chance till with a lightning blow planted the edge of the weapon behind the ear, severing the grand artery and ending life with a few powerful convulsive spasms.

The half-breed had just stopped near the mute, when the female panther with a continuous round of sharp screams landed on the same limb the male had last occupied. In a perfect storm of fury, as though aware her mate was slain, and with eyes faïrly scintillating sparks of fire, she curved her back swiftly up for a downward spring at Segoquen. The half-breed saw and met the crisis. He took advantage of the momentary chance offered by the last movement of the animal, and with a quick aim at that curved spine down by the loins, his arrow went on its fatal mission. It pierced through hide and brawn and flesh entering

far within one of those loose mobile joints of the spinal column. The instant effect was paralysis of the body and limbs below, final and complete. The main body dropped backwards from the limb leaving the animal, still tenacious for life and therein true to its feline nature, hanging suspended by its fore feet. Its head still lay above and between them with the eyes peering over the limb and glinting down their fiery light upon her assailants.

Robin Hood, of Sherwood forest memory, never made a more skilful or accurate shot than did Segoquen in the forest drama in that secluded valley. His aim was for one of those fiery orbs above the limb. The arrow penetrated the brain and the animal dropped at once but was dead before it reached the earth.

The two men were about rushing to the group by the tree, when the dog, failing to catch the eye of either seized hold of the legging of the mute, a signal the latter never disregarded. He stopped short and looked in the direction the dog was excitedly gazing. The half-breed with one foot uplifted for a spring happened to glance at Segoquen; his foot dropped and his eye took the range of the same line of sight. The three were now looking to the summit of the ridge so recently left by them, where they caught a glimpse of the two renegades who had abducted the maiden and the children.

How came these ruffians then and there? Upon their return to the cabin where they had left their captives, they found them missing; after fruitless search, and noticing that the blankets had also disappeared, the suspicion became conviction that the captives had fled. The white said to the native, "We will eat before we leave; broil some steaks while I go for the canoe; but

not finding it, he retraced his steps to the cabin. The native had a fire kindled into a clear blaze, and together the half-famished men cooked and ate a hearty meal. They also broiled a bountiful supply to use cold when journeying. They had faith in their ability to overtake the fugitives, their hopes resting mainly upon the chances that the maiden would lack the skill or the ability to keep the canoe from running foul of some one of the numerous obstacles.

Starting out with weapons and prepared food, they had reached that ridge we have described, but before quite reaching the point whence they might have descried the now stationary canoes, the last angry yells of the female panther attracted their notice, arousing their suspicion that the animal was sharp on the scent of its prey and that those they looked for might be in the vicinity. Slowly advancing along the ridge they steadily scanned the valley. While thus employed the dog detected their presence and gave his signal to the mute, who on the instant made the same discovery and told the half-breed by signs what to do. Both suddenly dropped to the ground bow and arrow in hand and headed towards the ridge. As they advanced they diverged so that at the end of twenty rods they were half that distance apart.

Little Red Cloud had witnessed the entire conflict with the panthers and the manner of their slaughter, a scene new to him and most of it strange and incomprehensible. As the scouts crept away from the ground the dog lay down near the body of the male panther. Red Cloud thought he would go and view the animal lying there so still and ran boldly out to the spot, when the native outlaw on the ridge caught a clear view of the child in motion. He pointed him out

to the other and then with ringing whoops they both dashed down the declivity.

The maiden and the children heard the shouts and knew the men as they came bounding forward. Red Cloud ran back to the tree, saying "Segoquen kill panther and he now kill outlaw too." Onward came the renegades without thought of danger or interruption in their recapture of the fugitives, pursuing a line leading about midway between the two men lying in ambush.

The first blow came from the half-breed. He had ranged his eye through a clear space to a spot the outlaws were sure to strike; a moment later the muscular pale face a few feet ahead came plumb upon that open spot, only to fall forward with an arrow deeply buried in his heart. The native, seeing the headlong plunge before him stopped short, with a startled look and a wild glance towards the hiding place whence the arrow came; it was his last look on earth, for in the next breath he too fell prone to the ground with an arrow driven through his lungs.

The two marksmen met by the fallen pair and each made sure of his victim by draining the heart of its last store with a knife blade thrust, haft deep. Taking from the dead their wallets of freshly broiled meat they hastened back to the captives by the tree. The half-breed and maiden met in loving embrace whilst Segoquen clasped the children to his bosom with the fondness of a brother.

Red Cloud soon called attention to a want they all equally shared, by saying, "Me big hungry now. Feel like eating meat, a great heap." Dew Drop added, "It would taste good, but me can wait." The maiden looked wistful but said nothing. Segoquen producing

the wallet of the outlaw spread its contents before the children, feeding the dog also, and imitating his example the half-breed spread the contents of the other wallet before the maiden and together they enjoyed a plentiful repast.

Their meal being finished and the residue saved for future need, they made haste to leave. Rolling up the blankets the maiden swung them to her shoulder whilst the men each with one of the children in his arms led the way for the ridge and their canoe. Feeling sure that the band of Okemos sweeping down would drive the native before it, they resolved to descend in their canoe to the vicinity of Wassebeewing; by means of the tree body they were all safely embarked and those skilled navigators were soon clear of the obstacle and running gallantly down the current.

Chessaning with his files of warriors were rapidly approaching the valley east of Wassebeewing, and Gray Eagle posted therein, with a heavy force lying in ambush across the bottom and up the slopes, Okemos was at the same time rapidly drawing near that settlement from the west. The defense of his capital from the attack of this raiding band Gray Eagle had been compelled to leave to an insufficient body of allies and renegades.

Chessaning marched up in open order to the lower extremity of the valley, having a spur of the ridge on either side of him, descending gradually to the lower level, and seemed all unconscious of any foe in his front. Gray Eagle felt sure that Chessaning was walking blindly into the pit-fall he had dug for him. But upon a preconcerted signal the Shiwassos force was separated lengthwise into equal parallel lines and with Chessaning at the head of one, and his war chief

of the other, up those opposite spurs they nimbly mounted and coursed along the summit of the ridges.

The slaughter commenced as the heads of the files reached the transverse ambush line below them on the slopes and across the valley. There was no pause in the onward quick-step movement of those two summit lines. But as each brave in turn arrived at the favorable point he delivered his arrow with sure aim upon the clustered bodies of the enemy below.

The warriors of Gray Eagle taken at this terrible disadvantage in their disordered recoil went down the slopes pell-mell to the valley level. The last shot from each of the passing summit lines proved equally fatal with the first. Forward went Chessaning and his war chief over the way until descending with their lines the west ends of the ridges they wheeled inward, meeting in the valley and thus forming a living wall between Gray Eagle and Wassebeewing.

The old chief thus barred away from the defense of his village was sorely disheartened. Nearly one-half of his whole valley force were lying there wounded or slain within his view. Rallying the survivors as best he could, he resolved upon a desperate charge through that living barricade; but on his near approach he found the Shiwassos in his front massed in triple lines. He was satisfied that his weakened, shattered force could never pierce and sunder those lines.

Chessaning ever shrewd and politic had purposely allowed his enemy to reach a point whence he could see what was transpiring at the settlement over the southern tributary stream. The band of Okemos was then within one hundred rods of the weak defensive line posted there by Gray Eagle. There Okemos was met by a messenger from Chessaning despatched up

around by the falls, who had been sent the moment the Shiwassos chief had effected a blockade of the valley. The purport of that message was: "I have beaten Gray Eagle already. You can charge down and open your way into the settlement. Slay those who oppose you, but neither enter the settlement nor use the torch without further word from me."

Okemos readily comprehended what was expected of him. Again his band was in motion. Gray Eagle in the cessation of actual hostilities between him and Chessaning watched with intense anxiety the issue of that charge by Okemos. But before a blow was struck or a winged missile sent the three hundred allies and two score renegades went flying north to the main river and crossing by canoe disappeared in the forest.

The last hope of Gray Eagle perished with that inglorious flight. His own proud heart was broken in that bitter hour. He might yet escape down the valley. But for him life was worthless now. Yet for the lives and safety of his people he would stoop to still lower humiliation. For them he would crave mercy at the hands of his conquerors. Ordering his standard bearer to raise the white flag and advance to Chessaning, with folded arms and head drooping low forward he followed the flag. Reaching within a few feet of the chief he stepped ahead and spoke.

"The Shiwassos chief is my master in strategy and in arms. I am vanquished wholly and submit myself to any fate he may award me. But spare my innocent people upon whom I have brought this great ruin."

Chessaning perceiving how thoroughly Gray Eagle was crushed in spirit and his pride subdued addressed him in softened, even kindly tones.

"Gray Eagle speaks truly. He is beaten in the war he challenged, and he has brought slaughter upon his braves, and utter ruin to the door of his people. For their sakes and because they are blameless Chessaning will spare them. But Gray Eagle shall be judge in his own case. Let him say what ought to be the doom of the Chief who sent vile outlaws to steal my children from under my own roof tree? Will Gray Eagle answer?"

"The Chief who should be guilty of the inhuman deed ought to suffer death by slow torture. Gray Eagle was no party to the abduction of your children. He wanted to know of your plans. He sent two outlaws to discover them. He knew not till afterwards that they bore hatred towards any member of your family."

"But you had my children under your protection! what have you done with them?" was the earnest inquiry of the agonized father.

"I may have erred as to the means I employed to shield them," Gray Eagle answered. "I meant to keep them safe and so return them to you. The outlaws took them out of the perils of this war, away to the upper settlement but with the threat from me that I would flay them alive if they harmed a hair of the heads of maiden or children. But Gray Eagle will withhold no truth. He fears they all perished in the recent destruction of that settlement. I did not dream of that terrible raid of Okemos. I have now spoken."

"Chessaning is too much moved to decide further now," replied the Chief. "He may have misjudged Gray Eagle. He believed the Chief was guilty of stealing his children and had resolved to kill him by cutting off joint by joint and limb by limb. Chessaning now doubts his guilt and will have all things

made plain before he punishes. The Chief will now accompany me to Okemos. Two score braves will follow close ready to kill on signal from me. The rest will remain with the war Chief and guard the captive braves of Gray Eagle here in the valley."

Thereupon the two chiefs advanced to the stream and crossing by canoes approached the Ottawa Chief, the guard of forty walking on each side and in the rear. Okemos received them with dignity and gravely listened to the rehearsal of their talk by Chessaning, who closed by inquiring what he judged to be right between them

The old Ottawa had steadily watched the features of Gray Eagle. When thus questioned Okemos sternly eyeing the chief of the Wassanings, who unflinchingly returned his gaze, now answered:

"The chief submits,—his people should be spared from further harm. Gray Eagle made the war. It was unjust, but I would not further punish him for that. He already suffers keenly in his deep humiliation before us. I think he is not guilty of ordering the outlaws to invade your dwelling or to kidnap your children. If as a chief he had thus ordered, then he should perish by slow torture.

"But he committed a grievous fault in committing those children again to the custody of the heartless vagabonds. He thereby made himself responsible for their safety and in such case it is life for life by tribal law. Let him promptly search for and return the captives all three in safety or render himself up for execution. So Okemos decides."

Gray Eagle dignified and of royal turn of thought in the midst of his present humiliation replied, "The Ottawa chief speaks wisely. His judgment is just.

Gray Eagle submits to the sentence, and will soon return the captives in safety or render himself up for death. He fears not for himself, but he greatly fears these children fell victims to the destruction of his upper settlement.

"Chessaning has conquered me and the Shiwassos have vanquished the Wassanings. Let the war cease. The boundary line of occupation will be henceforth conceded to run where the Shiwassos claim it. The Shiwassos Chief can take my two children as hostages for the safe return of his or of my voluntary surrender for execution. Gray Eagle has spoken."

The other two chiefs as he ceased to speak bowed their assent to all his terms. But here, and before another step was taken, a new incident occurred. Segoquen and the half-breed were in full view and rapidly advancing with Red Cloud, Dew Drop and the Indian maiden. They had come ashore at the landing above and made inland for the trail, where by the foot prints they knew that the Ottawa band had just preceded them in the direction of Wassebeewing. They felt safe to follow, and arriving where the view was unobstructed they saw at once that the battle was ended and that the Shiwassos and Ottawas were masters of the field.

They recognized both Okemos and Chessaning standing in a group and knew that Gray Eagle was their captive; the maiden pointed him out to them whilst Red Cloud gazing upon the same group exclaimed eagerly, "Him big chief, talked to outlaws and us over there at lodge."

Thus assured they all moved hastily forward and as they came near the scene of the conference, Red Cloud and Dew Drop breaking away from all restraint

rushed with flying steps to the arms of their father. Over that blissful meeting the multitude was deeply moved and the eye of many a stalwart warrior was dim with moisture. As Chessaning placed them again upon the ground they both stepped forward and confidingly each placed a little hand in those of Gray Eagle.

The example thus set by the recent captives proved contagious, for as the youths were moving away from the Chief, Okemos and Chessaning together took him each by a hand. Okemos first spoke saying in a cordial tone, "Gray Eagle is a great chief. His thoughts are noble. His words are proved true and his conduct has not demeaned his station."

Chessaning added in a still more animated tone, "I am satisfied that Gray Eagle was not guilty of the crime I had imputed to him. All bitterness has passed out of my heart. I have forgotten his proud words. We can be friends again. Okemos will march his braves with mine to our canoes and we will return in company to Omagansee. The war being ended, I am pleased that we can leave Gray Eagle with Wassebee-wing and its populace safe and unharmed!"

In an hour's time the two invading bands were all across the stream, the chiefs had formed them in line of march, and they were traversing the valley eastward. As the trail came to the margin of the river a short distance below, they were agreeably surprised by finding Neome there with the canoes of both fleets; in fact, the Pewanigo Chief had become too anxious to remain longer inactive at the mouth of the river, and taking everything he had ascended to be near and if need be to aid in deciding the battle.

The forces were soon all embarked and as they were in readiness to depart down the stream from Wassebeewing, came Segoquen and the half-breed with the maiden and the children. Gray Eagle had asked the privilege of giving them a suitable outfit. Generously had he shown his gratitude to the three late captives. Each was clad anew throughout, whilst to the scouts for bringing them safely back he gave a splendid four paddle canoe.

On their approach the fleet separated into two extended lines with an open space between them, and down the channel thus made for them the scouts proudly passed. Red Cloud with Dew Drop stood up side by side upon a central thwart, "the observed of all observers," and amidst a succession of rousing cheers their passage to the front became an ovation.

Two braves were assigned for the extra paddles in the canoe, then downward swept the fleet bearing the distinguished chiefs and braves of three tribes. Up the Shiawassee they turned and still swept onward with the resolve to see the twin children restored to their mother's arms. Erelong the canoes were run bow on in a lengthened line side by side at the landing of Omagansee.

Among the large concourse of people on the shore one stood forth preeminent. Mokishenoqua had from a distance descried her darlings in the leading canoe; but in that moment of joy, when hope was exchanged for blissful certainty, the tide of maternal feeling had well nigh overcome the physical frame. With the firm grasp of a resolute will she crushed back the tide of emotion, so that when Red Cloud and Dew Drop were gathered in her loving arms with heads nestled upon her bosom her self-control was a marvel to all.

Chessaning urged the chief and braves to bivouac in a shady and spacious grove near at hand. His people took the hint and members of every family suddenly disappeared. Shortly thereafter food in great variety and profusion began to appear. An original native picnic was improvised in half an hour's time, for ready hands and willing hearts were united in the work. There was an abundance for all and the repast was long remembered and referred to as, "A feast of good things."

The entertainment was closed with a tribal custom for the chiefs to take a parting smoke of the fragrant kimikinik from the pipe of peace. Okemos as the senior chief in years initiated the ceremony. Filling and lighting the pipe he arose, remarking that he would give them a sentiment not only suited to the occasion but one that time would prove to be prophetic:

"Red Cloud and Dew Drop: the former will in due time lift the bleeding scalps of many enemies, whilst the latter will transfix the bleeding hearts of many lovers." Amidst a universal outburst of acclamation he took a whiff from the pipe and passed it to his neighbor.

When the ceremony was concluded the two foreign bands departed and the braves of Chessaning sought their homes. Happiness was restored to the lodge of the chief. The half-breed and maiden were duly married, and everything again wore a cheerful aspect at Omagansee.

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